









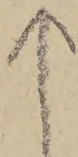
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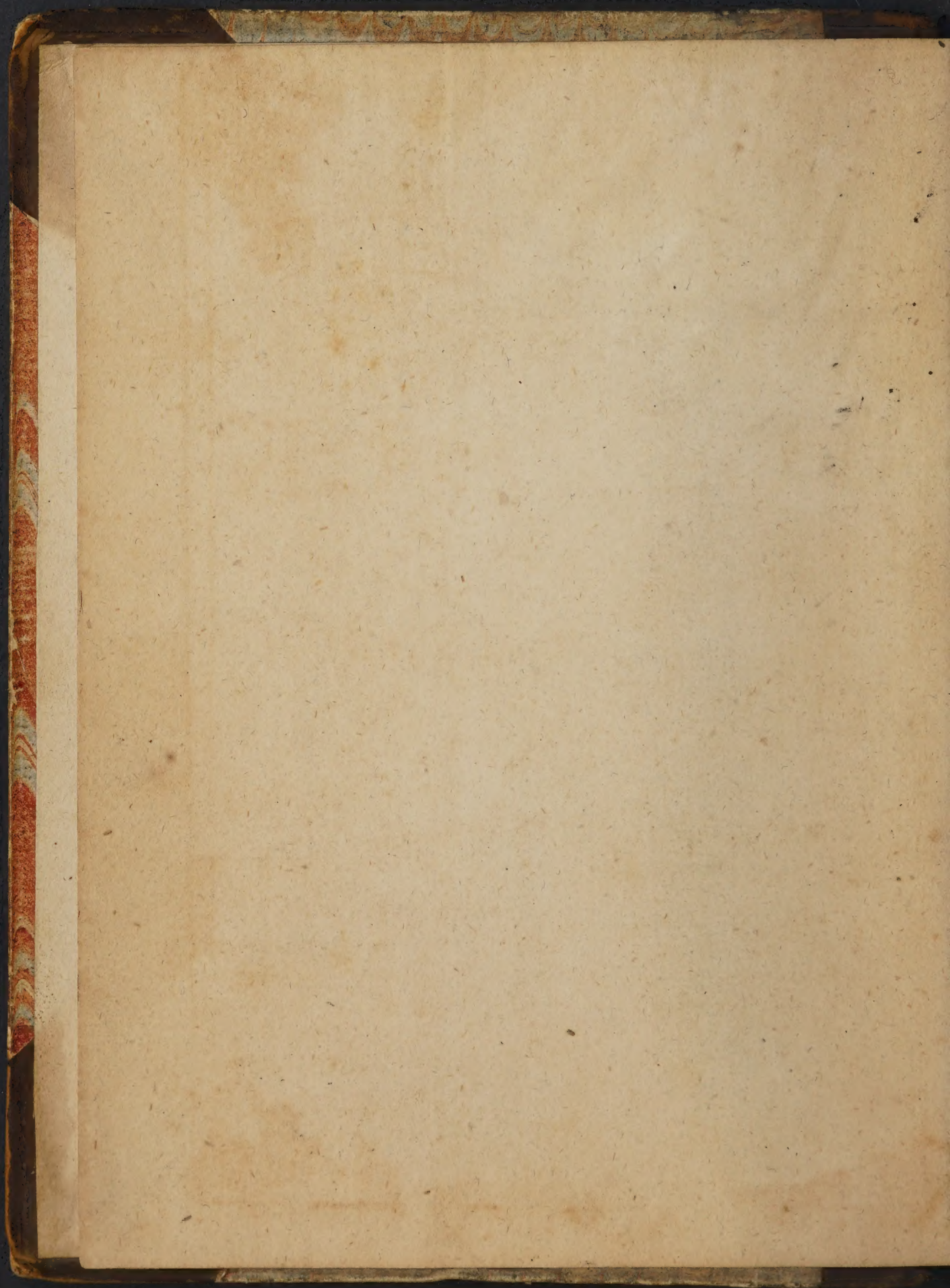
Life + Character of Locke
Second of Three Pamphlets



STRAUS

John Ingle Dredge
vi June 1884.

Bought at Mr Jas. Crossley's sale Manchester.



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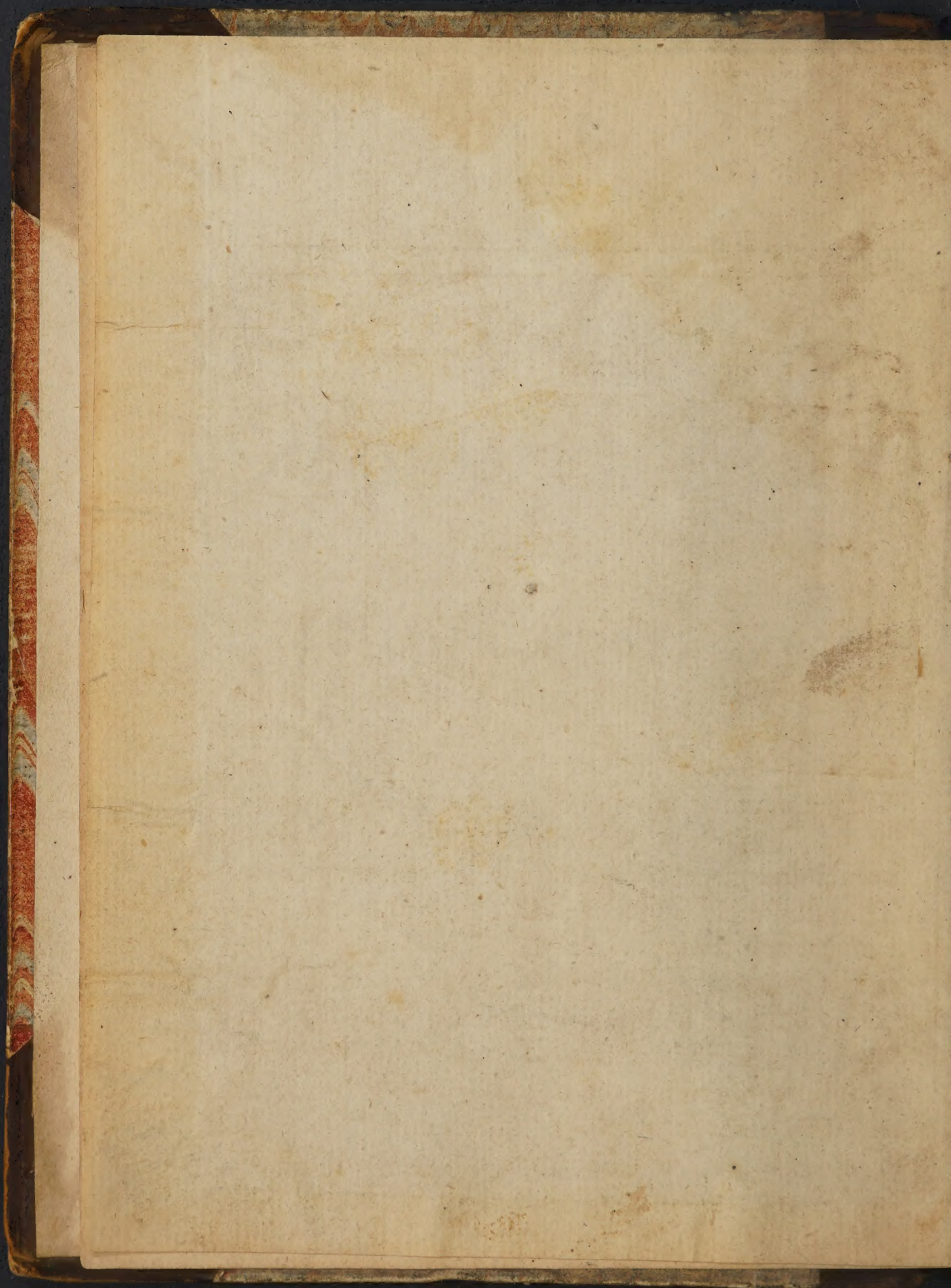
G I V I N G

Some *Account* of the last *Sickness* and *Death*
of Dr. W I L L I A M S A N C R O F T,
late Lord Archbishop of C A N T E R B U R Y.

By The Rev^d M^r Tho Wagstaffe

L O N D O N;

Printed in the Year, MDCXCIV.



A LETTER out of *SUFFOLK*
to a FRIEND in *LONDON*,
&c.

S I R,

WHEN you was pleased to desire of me a particular Account of the last and fatal Sickness of our late *Metropolitan*, and of his *Grace's* pious Behaviour under it, I could not but Congratulate with my Self the happy Imployment you had put me to ; and do hereby return you my most hearty Thanks for the fresh Opportunity you have been instrumental in giving me, of revolving in my Thoughts those admirable and Christian Vertues, so eminent and conspicuous in the whole Course and Tenor of his Life, and yet more illustrious at the Time of his Death : The Memory of him indeed will be always precious in the Eyes of good Men ; and I am perswaded his Name will never be forgotten in these and the Neighbouring Kingdoms, nor ever remembred, or mentioned, but with Marks of Honour, Esteem and Veneration. But such Memorials are *general* and
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languid, and will but coldly affect our Hearts, or dispose us to Imitation, except his particular Graces be re-eminated on, and rivetted within us by devout and serious Meditation. This will raise in us (as was in him) a Spirit of Meekness, Mortification, Fortitude and Constancy: And his Death will improve the World (as his Life always did) by recommending a most generous and sincere Piety, and encouraging us in the most difficult Duties of Religion, And I must confess to you, that it is owing to your Commands that I have had a greater occasion, on this great Subject, of glorifying God, (who hath given such Graces to Men) of supporting my self, and encouraging my Brethren in a State of Affliction and Trouble, by the power and prevalency of so renowned an Example. I conceive therefore, your Request to me in this particular, was not so much to satisfy your Curiosity as to affect your Conscience, to provoke you to and preserve in you such a steady and unshaken Fidelity to Truth, as is not to be undermined, or wrought upon, by any specious Temptations from the World. Our Holy Faith is not founded on the Examples of Men, but the Practice of it is mightily encouraged and assisted by them. And here you have before you a Glorious *Confessor*; here you have your Holy Arch-Bishop making a safe Passage through Storms and Tempests, and carrying his Integrity and Conscience undefiled to the Grave. And doth not this bright Example mightily enspirit and inflame your Zeal? Doth it not make your Afflictions easy, and
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your Vertue strong? Would you now receive the *Wages of Unrighteousness* how much soever you may want them? Or would you change your desolate and narrow Circumstances, for those more plentiful, at the Expence of your Conscience, for all the World? These are the Fruits of this great Prelates Vertues, and this is the use we are to make of them; to animate us in the same Course, to aspire to the same degrees of Uprightness, to despise the World and to take up the Cross, not as a Blemish, but an Honour to us: Otherwise, however we may praise and admire him, 'tis but Flattery and Hypocrisy; we celebrate his Memory deceitfully, both to his Injury and our own. For if his great Vertues deserve to be commended, they deserve to be imitated too: The Praise of the Tongue is but Breath and Air, and the Character goes no deeper than our Lips: But if we live like him, and pursue the same Vertues, with the same Faithfulness and Constancy, our Love and Admiration is seated in our Hearts, and Consciences, and we evidence the Honour we had for him, by the noblest Principles of Humane Nature. If therefore we shall make him our Pattern, and follow his Example, we shall do more right to his Memory, than by all the Panegyrics in the World.

I could heartily wish that I were able to set this great Example in a true Light, that I could draw his *Grace's* Picture at full length, and give you a compleat Account of the whole Series of his Life from the beginning

ning to the end ; and this (if it was faithfully done) perhaps would be as bright a Pattern of Vertue as has for many Ages been communicated to the World, and would emulate the Piety of the first and purest Times, and the Faithfulness of the Primitive Christian Bishops : But this is a Task too difficult for me upon many Accounts, and I hope will be undertaken by some abler Hand, and indeed is more than you require of me : However, as Introductory to what follows, I shall lay before you these two General Observations.

I. That that high and important Station which he held in the Church of *England*, was never better filled nor manag'd with better Conduct : His great Abilities of Learning, Wisdom, Courage and Sincerity, abundantly qualified him to guide the Church, and steer the Helm of it, in the most dangerous and surprizing Junctures. There never was a Time since the beginning of Christianity, when all these Qualifications were not necessary in a Christian Bishop, and which he had not always more or less occasion to exercise : But it must be confessed that in his Days, the Church was beset with extraordinary Difficulties, and required an extraordinary measure of Prudence and Resolution, of Faithfulness and Zeal, to manage that great Trust committed to his Charge, to the Honour of God, the Interest of Religion, and the good and benefit of the Church.

There

There are two famous Instances which give testimony to this, and abundantly evidence the greatness of his Mind, the wisdom of his Conduct, and the zeal and care he had for the preservation of Religion, and the safety of the Church. The First was when he was to struggle with the Commands of a *Lawful* Sovereign, which seem'd to interfere with the Interest of the established Religion, and the known Laws of the Land, but of this he made no difficulty, and soon resolved rather humbly to decline the Commands of his Rightful Prince, than to obey him to the prejudice of the true Religion, and the Established Laws. But the manner of doing this was as exemplary as his Courage, when his King laid uneasy Commands, and which he could not comply with, he did not presently fly in his Face, and load Him with Invectives and Aspersions much less did he undermine his Throne, invite the Invader of it, or by ungodly or revengful Arts endeavour to defeat him of his Just and Hereditary Rights: But, like a true Christian Bishop, he committed his Cause to God, and possessed his Soul in Patience. He could not do an unlawful thing, but he knew well that that Reason extended to all *unlawful Things*; and that he could no more violate the Rules of Religion, and the Laws of the Land, in resisting his Lawful Prince, or injuring him in his undoubted Rights, than he could violate them in Obedience to him. Sincere Vertue is always uniform, and all of a piece; and he knew that the same Religion and

Laws which enjoyn'd him not to obey, oblig'd him likewise not to *resist*, and *rebel*; they were of equal Obligation in both Cases, and their Authority as Sacred, and could not be broken with a safe Conscience in one Instance no more than in the other. He stood indeed in the Gap, with all the degrees of Fortitude and Resolution that the greatness of the Occasion required; but these were Christian and Episcopal Vertues, and joyn'd with the same degrees of Meekness and Humility, by humble Petition, by all modest and just ways he declined Compliance, but without the least insolence of Behaviour or disrespect to the Person of his Prince, much less to shake off his Authority and Government, whom he knew to be the Rightful King of these Kingdoms, and established in the Throne by the Laws of God and the Land.

It is true in this Action (though it is to be fear'd of *some*, not with the same Intention) he did not stand alone; but several of his Brethren, my Lords the Bishops, and most of the inferiour Clergy bore their parts and join'd with their *Metropolitan*: But as his Post and Station, his Willom and Conduct, his great part in that whole Affair deservedly challenges the first place, so the ascribing to him what is really his due, does by no means detract from the merits of the rest: All those who acted in Conjunction with him, and upon the same Foundation and Principles, their Credit and Vertue remain intire to them, and they will never lose the Reputation of their Constancy and Faithfulness; but those who acted out of sinister and corrupt Ends, and have
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since forsaken their Principles, and wofully prevaricated, they have blasted their own Reputation, and have little consulted the Honour of that excellent Church of which they were Members. However I must tell you a plain Truth that some of them who then thought themselves, and still would fain be accounted main Pillars of the Protestant Cause, were in this Affair, very fleeting and unsettled, and for finding out *Salvo's* and Distinctions; and their subsequent Practice was in a great measure deriv'd from his Wisdom, Authority and Influence.

I shall not need to mention to you his Conduct in the ordinary Branches of his Metropolitcal and Episcopal Office; how he took care to discharge those with great Faithfulness, to preserve the Church of *England* in its Rights and Establishments, and to secure the Purity of her Doctrine, Worship and Discipline, so far as his Power and Authority extended: These are notorious to all the Kingdom. And it will be sufficient here to observe, that while he sat in the Chair, there was no under-hand trucking with the *Socinians*, or others, out of her Communion; He was a very wise, but withal a very plain and sincere Bishop; He was above little Tricks and Politick Arts, and knew not how to preach against People, and then to stroke and fawn, and curry favour with them when he had done: He was never at the bottom of any Project to give up the *Liturgy*, the *Rights and Ceremonies of the Church*: For alas! (quite contrary to modern Policy) He thought that the best way to preserve a Society had been in keeping steadfastly

to the terms of it; he had as great a tenderneſs and compaſſion, for the ſeduced and miſled as any Man, and uſed all juſt and moderate ways, for their Reduction and Information, but in good truth, he had not that *Latitude* of Principle to ſacrifice the Church out of ſecular Intrigues and Politicks, and to deliver up the Mounds and Fences of it to a Party which had been endeavouring the Deſtruction of it for a hundred Years and more, and who once had effectually ruined her. When he had favour at Court, and was able to recommend a Perſon to the higheſt Offices in the Church, it was never his Cuſtom to lay aſide, or poſt-pone, the moſt worthy and able Men, and firm to the Conſtitution of the Church, and to make uſe of his Inter-eſt to advance a ſort of Men who are equally principled for *Geneva* as for *England*, or for any Conſtitution beſides; who were never true nor honeſt to the Church in their Inferiour Charges, and who are far better qualified to betray than to ſupport her. In ſine, when he was poſſeſſed of the Revenues belonging to his Church, he never made it his buſineſs to deſtroy and plunder it, by cutting down the Timber upon little Pretences, and then putting the Money into his own Pocket. Upon the whole, he was a *true Father*; the Inter-eſts of the Church were his own; and he ſpent himſelf in preſerving her Honour, Rites and Revenues: Whereas it hath been long ago obſerved, that an *Intruder* is always a *Step-Father*, who ſpins out the Bowels of the Church, and fattens himſelf with her Blood; who having no legal Right, and Foundation, is for com-
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pounding with Religion, and bartering the Securities of the Church to support himself and uphold the Injustice of his own Tenure. And this Observation is so true that it hath never yet failed in any one Instance. He that came into the Church *a Thief and a Robber* hath always continued so; and from the beginning of the Church to this very Day there hath not been one *Ecclesiastical Usurper*, but, who in one or more Instances, hath pawn'd something of Religion to gain an Accession to his Party, and to secure and strengthen his unrighteous Possession.

Another famous Instance demonstrating this great Prelat's Vertue and Piety, and his admirable fitness for that High Office he sustained in the Church was this, that he chose rather actually to suffer an expulsion from all his Honours and Ecclesiastical Revenues, than to violate his Conscience, or stain the purity of those Principles, he had always maintained and adher'd to: This is a Proof next to Martyrdom, and there cannot be given a greater testimony to a Man's Sincerity, except it had been the laying down his Life; and no doubt, that he would also have as chearfully done, had the Divine Providence thought fit to have call'd him to that Tryal. God knows the Heart, but Men cannot know one another, nor yet themselves, but by Tryals and Temptations: Disguised Vertue will deceive the World, and perhaps our selves too, and when we meet with no interruption in our Affairs a general care of inoffensiveness may pass for great Uprightness, both in the Eyes of
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Men and in our own : But when the Business comes to Experiment, when we must either part with the World or with our Consciencēs and Principles; this is a Touchstone of our Sincerity, and the distinction is soon made. And here we have a most Reverend *Arch-Bishop* thrust from his high Station, and divested of all his Spiritual Promotions and Preferments, meerly upon the account of his Conscience, and which he might easily have kept, if he could have but tamper'd with his Principles, and brib'd his Judgment to submission, by carnal Inducements and fallacious Arguments. But as he was too wise and judicious to be impos'd upon, so he was too honest to act upon hypocritical Pretensions and sophistical Evasions; for (as he often said) *he had rather suffer under his Lawful Prince than flourish under an Usurper.* Alas ! Sir, he never was able to know, which way the People (collectively, or representatively) became *Sovereign* of this Kingdom, and could give away the Government to whom they pleased; he never had Philosophy enough to know that the Streams rose higher than the Fountain, that the Receiver of a Gift for that very Reason had a better Title to it than those that gave it, how those which gave away that which was none of their own, could derive a better right to the Taker than they had themselves. He had no skill to dive into the Mystery of a People being *Conquered* by themselves, and thereby deriving a *Title of Conquest* to a third Person; he could not expound the Riddle of *Conquering* by Vote, or that *giving* and *taking* were discriminating Marks of

a Conquest; nor could he submit his Conscience to the maddest Hypothesis that ever was broach'd by Men. He had not the nice Subtilty, to distinguish between *Alligiance de facto*, and *Alligiance de jure*. For as he knew that all Duties whatsoever, were founded in *Right* and flow'd from it, and there is no such thing in the World as a Duty to *Wrong*, so he knew likewise that neither our own Laws, nor any in the whole World, had been so contradictory and inconsistent, as to provide for a *double Alligiance* in opposition to one another. These were *Fig-leaves*, which some had sewed together to cover their Nakedness, but the covering was so very thin and slight, that a far less discerning Judgment than his, would easily look through them: it needed no Skill nor Art, but *plain Honesty* was sufficient to uncloath them, and to perceive that they serv'd only to blind or shuffle with the Conscience, by no means to direct or satisfy it. He knew an *Oath* was too sacred and serious, to be taken upon phantoms and shadows; upon such wild and ridiculous suggestions, as have not the least being in Nature, Reason, Religion, or the Law. And he knew withal, that to take two contradictory *Oaths*, must necessarily involve a Man in the guilt of *Perjury*: In such a case, there is no medium betwixt *swearing* and *forswearing*. Upon this Basis he stood, and he stood like a Rock, firm and unshaken, and all the Billows that beat upon him, could not make the least Impression. His high Post and great Revenues, were mighty Temptations, but when they came to be put into the Ballance with his Conscience, he soon determined

mined his Choice, and gave a convincing Demonstration, that his Vertue was superiour to the World, and independent of it; that *Truth* is better and far more eligible than Riches and Honour, when for the sake of *one poor persecuted Truth*, a Man can without the least hesitancy, forsake all that is great and honourable in the World. It is true, on this great occasion he had many Partners, *Seven of my Lords the Bishops*, and a considerable number of the *Inferiour Clergy*, besides many of the *Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty*, preserved themselves from Contagion, and gave the same great proof, of their invincible Fidelity and Constancy, whereby they have not only secured the uprightness of their own Consciences, but have withal maintain'd and upheld, the Honour and Reputation of the *Church of England*, which hath so terribly been impaired, by the *Scandalous Apostacy* of so many others. And this is of such mighty consequence, that it must be confessed that Posterity hath nothing left to vindicate the Church and her avow'd Principles, but their Heroic and memorable Examples; and when After-Ages, shall come to dispute the Principles of our Church, they will have the Piety and Practices of these excellent Men, to counter-balance the general defection, which hath overspread this unhappy Nation.

II. Another General Observation which I have to remark to you, is, that these immortal Vertues, which have embalm'd his Name to all Posterity, were not newly acquir'd, or ev'n exercised; but his younger Year

Years gave an early Testimony of the Greatness of his Mind, and the steadiness of his Principles. There was a Time when a wicked *Covenant* and *Engagement* were to be taken; the one *Oath* was design'd to propagate *Rebellion*, and to destroy the Church, and the other to support a *Cruel Usurpation*: And these (in their respective Seasons) block'd up all Preferments, and a Man could neither keep what he had, nor be admitted to any other, but he must first make his way by swallowing the *Deadly and Accursed Thing*. In those Days, he was in the Prime and Flower of his Age, when gawdy Seducements are generally the most prevailing, when the Passions and Propensities to the World are most strong, and the Judgment less mature and solid to correct them; but ev'n in his greener Years his Vertue was ripe; he then became an actual Sufferer for the very same Principles, and chose to relinquish his Interest in his Native Countrey, and to submit to a voluntary Exile rather than advance himself by the Rewards of Ungodliness, and own the Authority of an *unjust, though prevailing, Usurpation*. This therefore is not the first Time that he gave the World proof of his admirable Constancy; He was a *Confessor* near fifty Years before upon the very same Account; and the *very same Reasons and Arguments*, (that in those Days were urg'd for Rebellion and Usurpation) which could not work upon him then, much less could they do it now, (though they had *New Names* put to them) when his Judgment and Vertue were improv'd; and the Truth of those Principles con-

firm'd by his most mature Thoughts, and by long Experience. He had seen and sifted all these matters long before, and it was not likely, that to a wise and good Man, the *Copy* and *Transcript* should prevail more upon his Riper Years than the *Original* it self did upon his Youth; *Doleman's* Rebellious Arguments had no better Effect when transplanted into Dr. St---'s *Unreasonableness of a New Separation*, than they had in the Vile Book of *Parsons* the *Fisuit* it self; and the very same *Numerical Reasons* could satisfy as little, when baited with modern Names, than they did heretofore, when they came immediately from the Pens and Persons of the first Authors themselves, from *Regicide Cook*, and *Milton*, from *John Goodwin* and *Hugh Peters*. In short, he was always just to his Conscience, and true to his Principles, and the repeated Instances he hath given of an untainted Fidelity will exceedingly add to his great Character; That in all the various Concussions of State, the Turns and Changes of the World, he was always the same; and the last great Actions of his Life will suffer no Diminution or Reproach from any Temporizing Levity or Unworthiness of his former Proceedings. I do not deny but a Man may once trip and miscarry, and afterwards relent and recover himself, and become very Great and Useful; and there is no Repugnancy in the Reason and Nature of Things, for a Man erring through weakness of Judgment, inconsiderateness or violence of Temptations, to raise himself up again, and to stand firm ever after: But if we shall consult Fact, we shall find

find this Theory not always, perhaps not very often, confirmed by Experience. Those who have once play'd Fast and Loose with their Principles are generally prepared to travel the Compass; and we have in our own Memories some who pass'd from the *Covenant* to the *Engagement*, from thence to the *Cromwell's*, thence to the *Restoration*, and from thence to the *Revolution*: And no doubt, if there was occasion, from the same unchangeableness of Principle could travel the same way back again. Now Sir, if this be no Blemish to a Man's Integrity; if when he can receive new Principles with every Tide, and turn himself and his Conscience to every Turn of Affairs; if he can dispute the same Things *Pro* and *Con*, and resolve a Case of Conscience backwards and forwards, and rise and fall his Doctrines in Proportion to his Interests; if notwithstanding he shall sustain the Character of Steadiness and Fidelity, then by my Consent *Eccobolus* and the *Vicar of Bray* shall henceforward be reckon'd among the Confessors, A versatile and winding Craft shall pass for the mark of a plain and fair dealing man, and the *Wind* and the *Moon* be hereafter the fittest *Emblems* of Constancy. But if Mankind have always taken other Estimates of Things; if the Truth and Goodness of a man's Virtue hath been always measured by its Strength, that it is able to abide the Trial, to weather all Storms and mutable Accidents, and remain the same under all Difficulties and Discouragements; if the difference between counterfeit and standard Virtue consists in Permanency and Perseverance

rance, not subject to the Changes and Chances of this Lower World, If finally these are in themselves, and were always accounted great and glorious Things, then the several Stages of our *Venerable Father's Life* will afford us so many Eternal Monuments of his Piety. And he hath left behind him very few, who in this degenerate Age are likely to equal his Vertues, or to come near them by many degrees, and none less than *him who sits in his Chair*, and some others who fill the Sees of our Depriv'd Bishops.

But, Sir, Will you give me leave more fully to excite your Piety and Imitation, and to improve to your Use and my own this great Example to the best Advantage. It may be necessary to go a little deeper, and to uncover the Root from whence so many Excellent and Praise-worthy Actions did spring; for it will be impossible to copy out one of his great Vertues, without acquiring a just Proportion of all the rest. To aim at his *Constancy* without his *Humility*, is to plant without a Soil, and to aspire at his inflexible *Faithfulness* without an equal measure of his *Mortification*, is to make a Superstructure without a Foundation. And therefore it may be fit to observe, That that wonderful Steadiness and Evenness of his Conduct, those high and eminent Vertues which render'd him so conspicuous, were built on a Foundation abundantly sufficient to support the Weight of them: His *Humility* and *Denial of the World* were as bright as any of his Vertues, and bore up this mighty Fabrick: The World could lay no Byass on his Affections, to suborn
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his Judgment, and tamper with his Conscience; but he could and did with equal Affection and Resolution embrace Truth, when naked and despised, as well as when attended with Honours and Revenues: And you your self know, and so does every Man else that had the Happiness to converse with him, That he suffered his Remove from his Possessions and Preferments, with greater Satisfaction and Chearfulness than any man could take them. It was a smart Answer that he gave to a Person, speaking to him concerning the Revolution, and what were like to be the Effects of it; *Well!* (saith he, smiling) *I can live upon Fifty Pounds a Year*, meaning his Paternal Inheritance; and thereby intimating how little the loss of all the rest would affect him, and what an inconsiderable Inducement the highest Station of the Church was to mislead him, and to pervert his Conscience. He had no *Pride, Ambition, Covetousness* or *Luxury* to maintain, and consequently was secure against all Assaults, that could come from those Quarters. When a man hath once brought himself to that pass, that he cannot live under so much by the Year; whenever such a Posture of Affairs happens, that he cannot honestly keep his Integrity and his Incomes too, he is in great danger of turning to the left Hand, of distrusting Providence and starving his Conscience for to keep warm his Back and his Belly. When Ambition and Love of the World prevail upon the Affections, Religion will become Art and Managment, calculated for Designs and Interests, must vary and alter with Seasons and

and Opportunities; and such a Man's Conscience will observe the Wind, and be sure to sit always in that Corner from whence Preferments come. In fine, who-so-ever hath not a competent degree of Self-Denial, Mortification and Contempt of the World, Religion can have no sure hold of him nor he of Religion, and he lies under an utter Incapacity of being true to himself and to his Conscience; his *Principles* will be Arbitrary and Precarious, and follow all the Revolutions and mutable Contingencies of this World: What therefore our Lord and Saviour said, *Whosoever he be of you that forsake's not all that he hath, he cannot be my Disciple*, St Luke 14. 33. This was not so much a Command, as a plain Declaration of the State of the Case: There is an utter Impossibility in the Nature of Things, That a Man should be Christ's Disciple who is not prepared and disposed to forsake all the World for him, and to put these Dispositions into Act, upon all just Occasions; for otherwise, he can be a Christian no longer than his Religion and Interests agree; for when they differ one must be parted with, and the Predominate Principle will certainly carry him, and he will determine his Choice in behalf of his Affections. To be mortified to the World therefore, is not only to do our Duty in that one Instance; but to gain a General Preservative: The *Cross*, is the fundamental Principle of Christianity, and secures the honest Observance of all the rest.

By this Time, Sir, I presume that you perceive how necessary it was to enter upon this last Paragraph; it
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hath an immediate tendency to lead us in the right way, and to direct us how we may follow his Steps; if we would imitate his Greatness of Mind, his Christian Fortitude and admirable Constancy; why then we must lay as deep a Foundation as he did, we must mortify our Pride and Passions, and wean our Affections from the World; we must endeavour to attain the same measure of Patience, Humility, and Self denial; and if this be effectually done, we may then hope to partake of his Spirit; but if our Apperites remain irregular, if our Thirst of the World be yet immoderate and intemperate, we have a Plummet at our Heels which will be sure to weigh us down, let our Judgments and Understanding be what they will, and let the Occasion of Perseverance be never so Just and Honourable. The World is, and always will be changable, and if there be room left in our Hearts to plant that Engine, it will *turn us about* in spite of the clearest Apprehensions, and the best Resolutions we can make; when we dote too much upon the Fortune, we shall forsake our Mistress on the Loss of her Portion and court another. In Truth without such a measure of indifferency to the World, it will be impossible we should be true and faithful upon any Occasion where Truth and Fidelity are required, we shall abandon our *Friend* or our *Father*, our *King* or our *Country*, as well as our *Virtue*, in a declining and unprosperous Condition: For 'tis an intallible Maxim in Morals, and which holds good in all Instances, that *Ambition* and *Levity of Principle*, that *Covetousness* and

Unfaithfulness, that *Love of the World* and *Inconstancy* are convertible, there is never one, without some Proportion and Degrees of the other.

And thus Sir, I have laid before you these two General Observations ; and I think I shall not need to remark, how fit and pertinent they are to lead us into the Consideration of the last Scene of this Great Man's Life. Here we have the Picture of his great Vertues, of his Moral and Christian Endowments; and when we shall find his *last Hand* to it, when we shall see it compleatly finished by himself, it will give a mighty addition to its Grace and Beauty; the *last* and *finishing* Stroaks are always the fairest, and give Lustre and Perfection to all the rest. And this is what I have undertaken (according to my poor measure) to give you some Account of: And when you cast your Eye lower, you will see that as he lived so he died. He resign'd up his Soul in the Profession and Practice of those very Principles which he owned and maintained with so great Constancy and Vigour all the time of his Life, which is the most perfect and unsuspected Evidence that a man can give of his entire Satisfaction in his Principles and of his great Sincerity in the owning them, and living up to them. The Hour of Death, is of all others, the most unfit Season for Hypocrisy and Dissimulation; and if there be any Seriousness and Sincerity in men, they will shew themselves on a Death-bed. But when a man hath liv'd unblamably all his Days, when the most malicious and critical Eye is never able to tax him with deceitful

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Daubing, in the whole course of a long Life; when such a Man shall come to lie under an apparent sence of his Dissolution, if in the last Article of his Life, he shall renew the Profession of his Principles, we have all possible assurance, not only of the utmost Plainness and Sincerity of that Profession, but of the Sincerity also of his past Actions in pursuance of those Principles; for he stakes his Soul for the truth of his belief of them, and appeals to God (to whom he is immediately going) for the Uprightness and Honesty of his former Proceedings.

But Sir, That I may proceed in Order, I am in the first place to acquaint you, that some time after his Expulsion from his Habitation at *Lambeth*, he retir'd into the Countrey, to the Place of his Nativity, which was the ancient Estate and Residence of his Ancestors for above 300 Years, and where he built a small Habitation, but large enough for his Retinue and Attendants, which were only two or three Servants: Here he chose to fix himself in his Retirement; here he enjoy'd the same Chearfulness of Spirit, the same Serenity of Mind, and (in one Word) the same good Conscience; there was some difference in the outward State, in the Splendor and Ornament, but none at all in the Man; and those who repair'd to him from all Parts were blessed with the same charming and familiar Converse, the same holy Admonitions and Instructions, and they found exactly the same *Great Arch-Bishop*, under a plain Roof in a Countrey Village, that they us'd to meet with in his

D Palace.

Palace. Some receive Honour and Reputation, from the Places they hold, and some *Infamy*; the one as having too little Vertue, the other too much Vice: But when a man's Vertues bear an equal Proportion with his Station, they are inherent in his Person, and remove with it; when he resided at *Lambeth*, his Episcopal Vertues had there their Residence also: But when he was forced to leave it, he did not leave his Vertues behind him to be possessed by the *next Comer*, (and if this needs to be prov'd, we have Ocular Demonstration) but they followed his Person in all Fortunes and Places; and we had a *Most Reverend Arch-Bishop* in *Fresingfield*, when there was none at *Lambeth*, nor nothing like it. His Obscurity was a new Accession of Honour to him; it was the Effect of a good Cause and a good Conscience, which though it added no new Vertue, it made it more bright and visible; they were the same Vertues he had before, but with greater Lustre, and we had with us the very same Venerable *Arch-Bishop*, but we had him with the additional Characters of his Expulsion, and cloath'd with the new Honours of his Constancy and Sufferings.

In this just and honourable Retirement he enjoyed all the Pleasures and Advantages of Solitude; a meer Quiet from the Hurry and Business of this World, thereby affording greater Vacancy and Leisure for the Concernment of the next, is in it self so desireable that some have voluntarily stript themselves of all their Lofty Accessions on purpose to gain an opportunity of retiring into themselves, and cultivating their Minds: But when
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it is an escape from a spreading Contagion, when quitting the World is quitting the Sins of it too; 'tis then not only an opportunity of exercising good Things, but a Sanctuary and Refuge also from those that are bad: But when to both these is superadded a *Noble and Glorious Occasion*, when 'tis the Result of Piety and Principles, the Lot of Vertue and a good Conscience; Privacy is then set out to the best Advantage, 'tis both our Peace and our Security, but 'tis withal our Joy and our Crown. This was our *Great Prélat's* Retirement, and in this Glorious Sphere his Vertues moved during the last Stage of his Life; for although he needed no Sequestration from the World, to learn to know himself, and to search into his Conscience, those had been his constant Exercises and Employment from his Youth; although no Incumbrances of his Station, or Emergencies of publick Affairs, could ever tempt him to rob God of his Dues, to interrupt his Devotions, and the necessary Works of Piety; yet the Recess his Conscience had made him afforded him larger and more frequent Opportunities of conversing with God, and with himself; of imploring the Divine Favour, Forgiveness, and Assistance; of perfecting his Repentance, making up the Accounts of his Soul, and preparing himself for another World: And these were the Companions of his Solitude, the Fruits and Improvements of his Sufferings. But besides his own personal and particular Concerns, there were others of a more publick Nature which he charg'd himself with, and interested himself in, *the Groans of a languishing and*

afflicted Church, and the Scandal and Sins of an Apostate One, were each of them sad Subjects, and both deserved and excited his Christian Compassion, and his earnest Address and Application to God for Grace and Mercy in proportion to the respective States and Conditions. These are Times of Trial and Temptation, of Defection and Apostacy; and, as God knows there was occasion enough, so he suited his Petitions to the Exigency of the Times, That God would be graciously pleased to establish the strong, confirm the weak, reclaim and recover the lapsed; those who deserted his Authority as well as their own Principles, could not run away from his Prayers and Charity; and God grant that they may find the benefit of his holy Devotions, who would receive none by his Influence and Example.

But besides these, there is yet another Ingredient which render'd his Solitude more Triumphant, and that is the Reason and Occasion of it; it was not the Effect of Weariness or Satiety, of Sullenness or Disappointment, but founded in just and righteous Principles; and the goodness of the Cause sanctified the Affliction, and made his Privacy venerable in the Eyes of all, and very comfortable to himself; it was indeed the Exercise and Safeguard of his Vertues, but it was moreover the *actual Suffering* for them, and this gave it Life and Spirit, chang'd the Stile and Denomination, made his Meanness his Glory, his Abasement his Honour and Ornament; and though he was always a very Great Man, yet he made a greater Figure in the World, and sustained a
more

more Honourable Character in his Privacy and Retirement, than ever he had done in the utmost Extent of his Prosperity and Plenty : And this was not only external, and terminated without him, but it was an Honour founded in Righteousness, *The Honour that comes from God only*, which exerts a mighty Power within, and sheds ineffable Comforts into a Man's own Breast. He saw nothing about him, but what were Arguments of his Uprightness, and carried the Marks of his Sincerity ; and this join'd with the internal Testimony of his own Soul, is perhaps one of the most reviving and cherishing things in the whole World : And here we may contemplate the mighty power of a good Conscience, how easily it triumphs over the World, and what unspeakable Pleasure ariseth in the Soul, from the sense of an honest and resolute Adherence to Duty : He did not only bear his Suffering and low Condition with Patience, but he exulted in it ; it was matter of the highest Satisfaction to him, and any Man might read the Pleasure in his Breast, by the constant Serenity and Cheerfulness of his Aspect ; and I dare say, that the most greedy Worldling never enjoyed half that solid Complacency, in the most lucky and fortunate Acquisitions, as he did in being deprived of all, and reduced to the mean Circumstances of a private Habitation.

Thus Holy were his Exercises, thus Heavenly his Comforts, till at length it pleased God (in order to perfect and compleat them) to visit him with a long and languishing Sickness : His Disease was at first an Inter-

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mitting Fever; but the Fits were so extream Violent that he was very near Dying in the Second, and lay Speechless and bereav'd of his Senses for some Hours; but by the help of the *Cortex Peruvianus*, advised and directed by his Physician, a Third Fit was prevented: But however the stopping the Fits gave some Respite, yet it was without any promising Hopes; he had some Lucid Intervals, but recovered no Strength; he lay under a general Weakness and Decay, and so continued Wasting to the last Period, till his Spirits and Vitals were exhausted, and his Soul took Wing from a dry and emaciated Carcass. This Distemper from the Beginning to the End continued just *Thirteen* Weeks; He fell Sick on the 26th of *August*, and Dyed on the 24th of *November* following.

And now, Sir, I presume you expect to see the Fruits of a good Life, the Conduct of sincere Vertue when it is to wrestle with the Terrors of Death; this is the last and it is the greatest of Trials: And here we perceive the wonderful Advantages of Sincerity, that it standeth us in stead when we have most need, and when all things else fail us; it supporteth us when our Spirits are spent, and enableth us to look Grim Death in the Face, not only with Confidence but with Address. When he had once shewn his Physician his wasted and shrivl'd Thighs and Legs, void of Flesh and all nourishing Juice and Moisture, saith he, *And can these Dry Bones live?* In truth, he was not only contented and willing to die, but he breath'd after it with Ardency, he desired it, and cal-

called for it, but still with the humblest Submission and Resignation to the Will of God: He used to express the Sence of his Heart in these Words of the Psalmist, *I will bear the Indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him: I will lay my Mouth in the Dust.* In his greatest Extremities and Agonies, he used to set before him the great Example of our Saviour, *For, saith he, As a Lamb carried to the Slaughter, he was Dumb, and opened not his Mouth.* Those great Vertues of Humility and Patience, of Trust and Affiance in God, of Universal Charity and good Will to Men, which by a long Practice he had made habitual and familiar to him, now exerted themselves most powerfully in this Critical Season; and we beheld the Graces of his Life triumphing over the Decays of Nature, and were both the Support and the Crown of his Death Bed, which plainly teacheth us, how necessary it is to gain a Habit of Vertue in the Days of our Health, that we may not have it to seek when we have the greatest occasion to use it. We saw the admirable Humility and Patience of his Soul, with what quiet and cheerful Resignation he submitted to the Divine Will throughout the whole Course of his languishing Sickness: There was not the least appearance of any Disturbance or Discomposure, but the same Meekness which had always calm'd his Passions under former Dispensations, was ready now to assist him, and was in truth more eminent and visible *in extremis.* That which came the nearest to a Complaint, was only a Description of his wasting Condition, in these Pious Words,

Words, *Thy Hand is heavy upon me Day and Night, my Moisture is like the Drought in Summer,* But even this joined with an Act of high Trust in God; for, saith he, *I am low, but must be brought lower yet, even to the Dust of Death; yet though he kill me I will Trust in him.* His great Piety (which was always quick and active) was now most sprightly and vigorous; and it was surprising to behold, in the perfect failure of all Bodily Supports, with what Presence of Mind he would turn himself to all the Difficulties he lay under, with what wonderful Dexterity he would meet with and alleviate his Extremities, by pious and suitable Ejaculations, taken out of the Scriptures, or breath'd from his own pious Soul: An Acute Pain, or dejection of Spirit (the frequent Companions of his Sickness) could no sooner approach him, but he was always as ready to obviate them by a Divine Sentence or holy Prayer. It was indeed an unspeakable Comfort and Satisfaction to us, and we reflected on the mighty power of a well spent Life, the great Efficacy of the constant Practice of Vertue; when we saw him with so much ease and facility overcoming the Throws and Pangs of a mortal Distemper, and preventing the Terrors and Convulsions of Death it self. We saw his flaming and ardent Charity, both extended and limited according to the Apostle's Direction, *To all but especially to them of the Household of Faith.* His Suffering Brethren were the principal Objects of his Charity and Prayers, but not exclusive of others; but upon the frequent returns and exercises of his Devotions, he suit-
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ed his Prayers to the general needs of men, and recommended them respectively to the Divine Mercy : In particular the Apostacy of a once Glorious Church stuck very near to him, and this gave great employment to his Charity ; he knew that Prayers might reach them who were obstinate to all other Convictions ; and in this he was earnest and frequent, that God would touch their Hearts, and reduce them to a Sense of their Sin, and of the great Scandal they had occasioned, and dispose them to repair it by a timely and seasonable Repentance : In short, if he had any Enemies, they also were included in his Prayers, and in particular a little before his last Hour, he solemnly pray'd for a *Blessing upon his Family, and Relations, and Friends, and earnestly begg'd Forgiveness for his Enemies, as he desired it of God for himself.*

But, Sir, I know you expect from me, a more particular account of his *Grace's* management of himself in this his last Sickness, with respect to the Principles which he own'd, and for which he suffer'd : And, Sir, I shall answer your expectation, having something very considerable to observe to you on this Head ; and you will soon perceive how far his Conscience and Soul were engaged in that matter, and that it was impossible for him to have acted otherwise with the Safety of his Conscience, and preserving the Uprightness and Sincerity of an honest Man, if you please to consider.

I. That by his own Order and Appointment, and with words of his own framing, was inscribed upon his Tomb, *At last deprived of all that he could not keep with a good Conscience,* I shall presently give you the Inscription at large, in the mean time, this is as plain, and full a Declaration

claration as Words can make, that the Reason and Ground of his Non-compliance with the present Powers, was a *good Conscience*: he was depriv'd because he could not comply, and he did not comply, because he could not do it with a *good Conscience*: And it is remarkable, that this came from his own hand, and with intentions to survive him; so that we have not only a Death-bed Declaration, but that Declaration perpetuated by himself, his dying Testimony recorded to succeeding Ages, and to remain a Monument to Posterity.

2. Throughout the whole course of his Retirement, and more particularly during the time of his Sickness, he never communicated with the *Swearing Clergy*, nor would permit them to Officiate, but I cannot express this better than in his own words, dictated to a Person who was then with him, some little time before his Death, to be sent as from his Grace to a Friend of his, and a copy of which I have kept by me: It is in these words. — *My Lord is sensible of how great a Concernment it is who ministers to him in holy Things, we have very few Non-Swearers hereabouts: Mr. W. hath been with us once, and visited my Lord solemnly, Mr. E. hath been here often, and at first visited my Lord very solemnly, and it happen'd to be at a time, when there were many Swearers, and Non-Swearers in the Room: He gave me the Absolution of the Church and not long after the Holy Sacrament: He comes often hither, and when it is seasonable performs the Holy Offices. At other Times my S--- who perfectly understands the Liturgy, useth as many of the Prayers as it is fit for him to do: and we heartily implore God's Mercy, for the pardon of our Defects and Indecencies, in the performance of his Holy Service and hope that we are accepted. My Lord never recei-*
z eth

vetb the Sacrament, but with those that come not at the Parish and are Non-Furors : He never admits any of the Irregular Clergy to be at the Holy Offices ; as for the rest, if they come when he goes to Prayers, he excludes them not : This hath been his course.

This my Lord dictated to me from his own Mouth ; you see how ready his Apprehension and Judgment are.

Nov. 15. 1693.

This, Sir, I conceive needs no application, and here you have your desire from his own Mouth, an account of his Sence and Judgment, together with his particular Practice in persuance of it: You know there were other Reports spread with you at *London*, as if he had received the Communion at the Hands of a *Furor*, and many such like; and the Noise of this came to us in the Countrey, and was a great Trouble to his Lordship, and in Truth gave the Occasion, of representing his own Practice in the foregoing Letter. He had too just a Sence of the Unity of the Church, and the Flagrancy of the Schism, to admit such Practices; and you may please to Observe, that this was but nine Days before his Death, and I can assure you, he never alter'd his Course afterwards; nay, he took particular and especial care, that a *Non-Furor* should perform the last Office of the *Burial of the Dead*, and particularly appointed him by Name. I suppose you will make no Objection, that the Letter above runs in two Stiles, one in his own Name, and another in the Person of the Writer; that is very usual and familiar, when a Person dictates what is to be sent to a particular Friend, and there was no need, in Matters that related

purely to his own Practice, to be very nice as to the Stile of the Representer: And this difference of the Stile, further confirms the Testimony of the Writer, that it was *dictated from his own Mouth*, for part of it sustains his own Person, and thereby gave Credit and Authority to the rest, as proceeding from the same Fountain, being Branches of the same Letter, and part of the same Representation.

3. The Third and Last Thing, I have to remark to you in this particular, is, that drawing near to his End, he said, in the hearing of some of his Servants, *that his Profession* (in the particular Case for which he Suffered) *was real and conscientious, and not proceeding from any sinister Ends ; that he had the very same Thoughts, of the present State of Affairs, which he had at first: and that if the same thing was to be acted over again, he would quit all that he had in this World, rather than violate his Conscience,* And in further Confirmation of this, in less than an Hour before he dyed, he put up these two hearty and earnest Petitions to Almighty God:

1. *That God would Bless and Preserve this poor Suffering Church, which by this Revolution is almost destroyed.*

2. *That he would Bless and Preserve the King, the Queen, and the Prince; and in his due time to restore them to their just and undoubted Rights.*

And now, Sir, you see the Make and Composition of these his Grace's Principles and Practices; you see their very *Inwards*, and have a Window open into his Breast; you plainly perceive his Conscience, and his Uprightness in this whole Affair, and you have the Testimony

mony of his last Breath, and his expiring Prayers: He was so well satisfied both of the *Eternal Truth* of those Principles by which he acted, and of his own *Sincerity* in living up to them, and suffering for them, that he ventur'd his Soul in the same Bottom with them, closed up his Life with a Profession of them, and made them the Subject of his last Recommendatory Prayers. I must confess this Inference needs an Apology; for if the Nature of the Thing it self did not sufficiently testify this, (as it certainly does) I do not believe that any Man who knew him did ever think otherwise, or in the least imagine but that he proceeded with the highest Sincerity. But since we live in an Age where Men oftentimes speak more than they think, and because they themselves are apt to act upon corrupt Ends, are willing to charge the same upon others in their own Justification; it may perhaps not be altogether unseasonable to make good that by undeniable Evidence, although all Men in their own Consciences do already believe it: And if the loss of all this World, and the venturing our Hopes in the next, in behalf of a Man's Principles, be not a sufficient and convincing Proof of his Satisfaction and Sincerity in them; then either there are no such Things in the World, or they can never be known.

I am now come to the last Period of this Great and Holy *Prelat's* Life; and all that I shall represent to you, is, That his Memory and Intellectuals remained perfect to the last Moment, and even his Senses also; a very little time before he dyed, he called for a Common-Prayer-Book, of the smallest Print, and turn'd to the Commendatory Prayer, and order'd it to be read; and that being perform'd, he compos'd himself more solemnly for
his

his Departure: He put his Hands and Arms down to both his Sides, and in a manner *laid out* himself, and would have his Head laid lower, and with great Willingness and Chearfulness submitted himself to the Stroak of Death: The Time, his Age, and other Circumstances, you will see in the Postscript, when you read the Inscription on his Monument, composed by himself, and directed by him to be engraved thereon. He was Buried in *Fresnefield* Church-yard, against the South wall of the Church, by his own Appointment.

And thus, Sir, I have given you a true, though very imperfect, Account, of the Pious and Exemplary Behaviour of our late most Reverend Arch-Bishop, in his last Sickness, and of his Death. And I desire you would account it (what in Truth it is) very defective; and that there are many other Passages relating to his abundant Charity and Beneficence, his memorable Edifices and Endowments, which equally deserve to be recommended to us, and to be transmitted to Posterity; and I hope to see a more full and perfect Representation perform'd by a more able Hand. I shall conclude with this Prayer, *That God would give us Grace to follow his Steps with the same Resolution and Constancy, that in his good time, we may be partakers of the same Glory and Immortality.*

I am, *S I R*,

Your Faithful Friend and Servant.

On

On the Right Side of the Tomb.

P. M. S.

*LECTOR, Wilhelmi, nuper Archi Prasulis
Qui Natus in Viciniâ,
Quod Morti Cecidit, propter hunc Murum jacet,
Atqui resurget. Tu interim
Semper paratus Esto, nam qua non putas
Venturus Hora Dominus est.*

Obiit Nov. 24. An. { Nat. Dom. MDCXCIII.
Ætat. sue. LXXVII.

On the Left Side.

P. M. S.

WILLIAM SANCROFT Born in this Parish,
afterward by the Providence of God Arch-Bishop of
CANTERBURY, at last deprived of all, which he
could not keep with a good Conscience, return'd hither
to end his Life; and professeth here at the Foot of his
Tomb, That *as naked he came forth, so naked he must re-*
turn; The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, (as
the Lord pleases so come Things to pass) Blessed be the
Name of the Lord.

Over his Head this.

St. Matth. 24. v. 27.

*As the Lightning cometh out of the East, and shineth
even unto the West, so shall also the coming of the Son of
Man be.*

F I N I S.

1844

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1844

THE

Life and Character

OF

Mr. JOHN LOCKE,

Author of the ESSAY

CONCERNING

Humane Understanding.

Written in *French*, by Mr. Le Clerc.

And done into *English*, by T. F. P. Gent.

LONDON:

Printed for John Clark at the Bible and Crown in the
Old Change near St. Pauls. And are to be had at
J. Nutts near Stationers-Hall, 1706.



THE

Translator's PREFACE.

THIS Account is written in French by Mr. Le Clerc, and Publish'd in the 6th Tome of the Bibliotheque Choisie.

Article the Fifth, a Book that does not lie in the way of every Person, that would be willing to read the Life of the great Mr. Locke; so that I perswade my self this Translation may be acceptable, even to some, that understand French, as well as to many that do not. This Account is but short, too short indeed for the Life of one that died at the Age of 73 Years, that spent the best part of his time in Business, that convers'd with Persons of the highest Rank, that was engag'd in Matters of the greatest Consequence, and that made as much a noise in the World, as any private Gentleman ever did. But there is this to be said for it, that it takes notice of nothing mean or trivial, and which is more, 'tis Authentick.

Mr. Le Clerc, was one of Mr. Locke's intimate Friends, and though with many, he may be condemn'd for a Heretick, yet I hope, we may believe him as to matters of Fact, and he gives us part of this Account upon his own Knowledge, part he had from the Earl of Shaftsbury, and part from the Lady Masham. It would be well, if all History's were founded on such good Authority. For the Readers satisfaction, I shall translate most of the Introduction, or as I may call it, the Preface of Mr. Le Clerc to this Account.

“ Having been Honour'd (says he) with a share in the Friendship of the late Mr. Locke; and having received a great deal
“ of Benefit from his Conversation, while he was in Holland, and in
“ reading his Books; I am oblig'd by the Laws of Friendship, and
“ Gratitude, to give the World some Account of the Life of this
“ extraordinary Person, and to do what lies in my Power to keep
“ alive his Memory; I am so much the more willing to take the Task
“ upon me, because I think this is an Instance very fit to be brought
“ to stop the Mouths of those, that fancy Piety to be inconsistent with
“ good Reasoning, and the study of Philosophy; as if Religion had
“ been

The Translator's Preface.

“ been calculated, only for the more untinking part of Mankind
“ One might have observ'd in him the Life of a Christian, and a
“ diligent and careful Study of the New Testament, joyn'd with a
“ Delicacy of Wit, and an unusual Accuracy of Reasoning, and
“ may from hence Learn, that the Piety which has the best Found-
“ tion, is never seen, but with the most refined Judgment.

“ I would it were in my Power to write a full Account of Mr.
“ Locke, and by these means to set such an exact Picture of him be-
“ fore my Readers, that they need but carefully to consider it, in or-
“ der to frame a just Idea of him. In my mind there is no better
“ way, either to Praise, or to find Fault, when there is occasion to
“ do it. But since, I could not furnish my self with such Memoirs
“ as are necessary to enable me, to write a compleat History of his
“ Life; I shall go as far as I can in it, with that, which is come
“ to my Knowledge, and I shall take particular notice of those things,
“ which I have Learn'd from the Earl of Shaftsbury, who was
“ brought up under Mr. Locke, and from Madam Masham, Sir
“ Francis Masham's Lady, at whose House he spent the last Years
“ of his Life. This honourable Lady, Daughter of the late famous
“ Dr. Cudworth (who was one of the greatest Men in England,
“ and the Extracts of whose Works have adorn'd the former Tomes
“ of my Bibliotheque Choisie) has had an opportunity of getting
“ perfect Knowledge of Mr. Locke, while he liv'd at her House, and
“ she being every ways qualified to make a Judgment of him, the
“ Light that I have receiv'd from her, has been very useful to me,
“ in drawing the Picture of this great Man.

“ I wish I had intreated this Lady, to take from his own Mouth
“ some farther Memoirs of his Life: But now the Publick must be
“ contented, with those which I have obtain'd of his Friends since his
“ Death. As for what pass'd about the time, in which he came ac-
“ quainted with the Grandfather of the present Earl of Shaftsbury,
“ and the Respect, that he had afterwards in his House; I owe the
“ Knowledge of that to the present Earl, in whom we may see what
“ advantage it is, even to those, on whom Providence has bestow'd the
“ best natural Parts, to be brought up by the Care of one, that knew
“ the right Method of Educating Youth.

Thus far Le Clerc, and so very full, to the Design of a Preface
(which is no other, than to recommend the Book to the World) that I
shall only add this sincere Wish; That all those that admire the Reason,
and embrace the Notions of the Great Locke, may imitate his Exam-
ple in his Piety to God, and Charity to Man.

T H E
L I F E
O F

Mr. *JOHN LOCKE*, &c.

MR. *John Locke* was the Son of Mr. *John Locke* of *Pensford*, in *Somersetshire*, in the *West* of *England*: The Family had its rise at a Place call'd *Channon Court*, in *Dorsetshire*.

He was born at * *Wrington* (alias *Wrinton*) and according to the Parish-Register, was Baptiz'd, the 29th of *August* 1632. his Father was Heir to a much greater Estate, then he left behind him; and was a Captain in the Parliaments Army, in the Civil Wars under *Charles* the First: And it is very probable, that at that Time by the misfortunes of the War, he lost some Part of his Estate; for his Son us'd to speak of him, as a wise and sober Man; so that I can't think he either lost it by his Folly, or squander'd it away by his Extravagance. Mr. *Locke* never mention'd his Parents, but with a great deal of Respect and Tendernefs. Tho' they were young enough when they Married, yet they had but two Children, of which he was the Eldest. The other, who was also a Son, died of a Phthilick above 40 Years ago.

Mr. *Locke's* Father took great Care in his Education, and carried himself towards him in such a manner, as his Son hath often commended. He was severe to him, while he was a Child, and kept him at a very great Distance; but as he grew up, he was more free and familiar with him; and when he was come to Years of Discretion, they liv'd together rather as Friends, than as two Persons, one of which might justly claim Respect from the other; insomuch that (as Mr. *Locke* himself has said) his Father excus'd himself to him for having beaten him once in his Childhood; rather in Anger, then because he deserv'd it.

* 7 or 8 Miles
South of *Bristol*.

2
The Life of Mr. John Locke, &c.

Mr. *Locke* began his Studies in *Westminster School*, where he continu'd to the Year 1651. from whence he was sent to *Christ-Church Colledge in Oxford*, of which he was elected *Fellow*. Mr. *Tyrell*, Grandson to the famous *Archbishop Usher*, sufficiently known by his Works, remembers that Mr. *Locke* was then lookt on as the most ingenious young Man in the Colledge.

But altho' Mr. *Locke* had gain'd such a Reputation in the University, he has been often heard to say, of the first Years of his being there, that he found so little Satisfaction, in the Method that was prescrib'd them for their Study's, that he has wish'd his Father had never sent him to *Oxford*, when he found that what he had learnt there, was of little use to him, to enlighten and enlarge his Mind, and to make him more exact in his Reasonings; he fancied it was because his genius was not suited to those Study's. I my self have heard him complain of the Method he took in his Study's at first, in a Discourse which I had with him one Day on that Subject; and when I told him that I had a *Cartesian* Professour for my Tutor, a Man of a clear Head, he said, he was not so happy; (tho' 'tis well known he was no *Cartesian*) and that he lost a great deal of Time, when he first applied himself to Study, because the only Philosophy then known at *Oxford* was the *Peripatetick*, perplex'd with obscure Terms and stuff'd with useless Questions.

Being thus discourag'd by the Method of studying that was then in Vogue, he diverted himself by writing to some Gentlemen, with whom he chose to hold Correspondence for the sake of their good Humour, their pleasant and agreeable Temper, rather than on the Account of their Learning, and he confess'd that he spent some Years in this manner. It is not probable, that Mr. *Locke* wrote then as well as he did afterwards, when he knew more of the World, but their Letters would without doubt have been very entertaining to all, had they been preserv'd; and since he has been engag'd in publick Business, some Persons in *England* of a very good Judgment, have thought that in Letters of this Nature, for a fine, delicate turn, he was not inferiour to *Voiture*; tho' it must be confess'd, of his *English* it is not so pure, or so much studied as *Voiture's French*. In his two last Letters of *Toleration*, in his Defences of the reasonableness of *Christianity*, and in his Answers to the Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet* late Lord Bishop of *Worcester*, we may see some Passages that are a Proof of this. In those Places where his Matter allow'd him to speak Ironically, or to use a little Raillery, he did it with so much

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much Wit as gave Life and Beauty to his Discourse, and at the same time kept up that grave and serious Character, which runs throughout those Pieces, and never failed in that Respect, which was due to the *Bishop of Worcester*.

Mr. *Locke* did not acquire this great Reputation he had at *Oxford* (as Mr. *Tyrell* says) by his performances in the publick Disputations, for he was ever averse to these, and always look'd upon them as no better than wrangling, and that they served only for a vain Ostentation of a Man's Parts, and not in the least for the discovery of Truth, and advancement of Knowledge.

The Works of *Des Cartes* were the first Books that brought Mr. *Locke* (as he himself told me) to relish the Study of Philosophy. For tho' he did not Assent to the Truth of all his Notions, he found that he wrote with great clearness, which made him think, that it was the fault of the Authors, rather than his own, that he had not understood some other Philosophical Books.

And thus beginning afresh to Study, and more earnestly than he did before, he applied himself particularly to Medicine, tho' this never turn'd to his own Profit, because he did not find that he had a Constitution of Body strong enough to bear those Fatigues, to which they are necessarily exposed, who would have any considerable Practice. But tho' he never practis'd Physick, he was in great esteem, with the most able Physicians of his Time: We have a clear Proof of this in the Dedication of an excellent Book, *De morbis acutis*, put out in the Year 1675. by the famous Dr. *Thomas Sydenham*, where he speaks to this Purpose; besides you know, that my Method hath been approv'd by one, who hath examin'd it thoroughly, and who is our common Friend, I mean, Mr. *John Locke*, who whether we respect his Wit, or his piercing and exact Judgment, or whether we look to his prudent and regular Behaviour, there is no Person in our Age that excels him, and there are but few that are his equals. This was the Opinion of one of the greatest Practitioners in Physick, and one of the honestest Men, that *London* had in the last Age. Therefore I shall give you his own Terms, because they are much more expressive in Latine: *Nosti præterea quem huic meæ methodo suffragantem habeam, qui eam intimius per omnia perspexerat, utrique nostram conjunctissimum, Dominum Joannem Locke; quo quidem viro, siue ingenio judicioque acri & subtile, siue etiam antiquis, hoc est, optimis moribus, vix Superiorem ququam, inter eos qui nunc sunt homines, repertum iri confido, par. 112.*

mos certè pares. After the Preface of this Book there are some Elegiack Verses of Mr. *Locke's* which are indeed full of Wit and Fancy, but the stile of them is not altogether exact or Poetical. He had too little esteem for the Poets to throw away much Time in reading them, and to take the pains to imitate them. He sign'd those Verses in this manner, *J. Locke, A. M. Ex Aede Christi. Oxon.* he contented himself with the Title of Master of Arts, without taking the Degree of a Doctor of Physick, tho' those that did not know him usually call'd him *Doctor Locke*. This he told me, when I dedicated to him one Part of my Philosophy in 1692.

In 1664. He left *England*, and went for *Germany* as Secretary to Sir *William Swan*, who was Envoy of the King of *England* to the Elector of *Brandebourg*, and some other German Princes. In less than a Year he return'd, and went to Study at the University of *Oxford*, as he formerly did; and among other things, he apply'd himself to Natural Philosophy, as is evident from the Journal, which he kept of the Changes of the Air from the 24th of *June* 1666. to the 28th of *March* 1667. For the regular Observation of which he us'd a Barometer, Thermometer and Hygroscope. The Journal may be seen in the General History of the Air, by Mr. *Boyle*, Publish'd at *London* in 1692.

While he was at *Oxford* in 1666. he came acquainted with the Lord *Ashley*, who was afterwards *Earl of Shaftsbury*, and Lord High Chancellour of *England*, his Lordship had been for a considerable Time indispos'd by a fall, whereby his Chest was so much bruised, that it occasion'd the gathering of an Imposthume, as appear'd by a swelling under his Stomach, he had been advis'd for this to drink the Mineral Waters of *Astrop*, and wrote to Mr. *Thomas* a Physician of *Oxford*; to send for some to *Oxford* against his arrival. But Mr. *Thomas* been oblig'd at that time to go out of Town, left his Commission in Charge with his Friend Mr. *Locke*, and the Day after his Lordships arrival, the Waters not being ready by neglect of the Person imploy'd to fetch them, Mr. *Locke* was oblig'd to go to his Lordships Lodging to excuse himself, and was introduc'd by Mr. *Bennet* who came in the same Coach with my Lord. His Lordship receiv'd him very civilly, according to his usual manner, and was very well satisfied with his excuses. When he was about to take his Leave of him, my Lord who was extremely well-pleas'd with his Conversation, would needs make him stay Supper, and as his

Lordship was taken with Mr. *Locke's* Discourse, so Mr. *Locke* was charm'd with my Lord *Ashley*, whose Wit and Civility gave him a distinguishing Character among those of his own Rank.

He was one that had a quick and sharp Wit, an accurate and solid Judgment, a retentive Memory, noble and generous Sentiments, and with all this a gay and pleasant Temper, which he retain'd in the midst of the greatest Troubles, he had read much and seen more of the World. In a little time he got a great deal of Knowledge and Experience, and became the best Statesman in *England*, at an Age when others scarce begin to understand or enquire after publick Concerns. The Employments he had when King *Charles* the Second made use of his Service took him off from his Studies. But he was of so quick an Apprehension, that by once reading a Book, tho' in haste, he could see it's faults and excellencies, sometimes better, than those who perus'd it at their Leisure; besides he was a Man of a free and easie Carriage, an Enemy to Complements, and not in the least Ceremonious, so that one might converse with him without restraint, and use all desirable Freedom. He carried himself familiarly to all Men, and yet never did any thing unworthy or below his Character. He could never suffer what had the least appearance of Slavery either in himself, or in his Inferiours.

So that Mr. *Locke* did with pleasure all his Life after, reflect on the Satisfaction that he receiv'd from his Conversation, and when ever he prais'd him, he did it not only with Respect, but even with Admiration; as those who knew the Penetration and Sincerity of Mr. *Locke*, will from hence form to themselves a high Idea of my Lord *Ashley*, so those who were acquainted with my Lord *Ashley*, can't but think that Mr. *Locke* was a Man of an uncommon genius, when they consider the value he had for him.

After all this, 'tis no great wonder that between two such Persons as these, there easily arose an inviolable Friendship. But to continue our History; his Lordship engag'd Mr. *Locke* to Dine with him the next day, and to drink the Waters (as he himself had partly design'd) that he might enjoy the more of his Company. Leaving *Oxford* to go to *Stanning-Hill*, where he drank the Waters, he made Mr. *Locke* promise to go thither too * as he did in the Summer of the Year 1667. and when His Lordship afterwards went to *London*, he oblig'd him to promise that he would take up his Lodgings for the future at his House. Mr. *Locke* went thither, and tho' he never profess'd Phy-

* As appears by the Journal, published by Mr. *Locke* before mentioned.

sick His Lordship was intirely guided by his Advice in opening the Impoſthume he had in his Breſt which ſav'd his Life, though it never could be clos'd again.

After this Cure His Lordship had ſo great an Eſteem for Mr. *Locke*, that although he had experienced his Skill in Phyſick, he ever after regarded it as the leaſt of his Accompliſhments. He advis'd him to turn his thoughts another way, and would not ſuffer him to practice Phyſick out of the houſe to any but his particular Friends. He would have had him rather apply himſelf to the ſtudy of thoſe Matters, that belong'd to the Church and State, and which might have ſome relation to the buſineſs of a Miniſter of State: And Mr. *Locke* ſucceeded ſo well in theſe Studies that His Lordship began to conſult him on all occaſions of that Nature. He not only took him into his Library and his Cloſet, but brought him into the Company of the Duke of *Buckingham*, my Lord *Halifax* and other Nobles, who were Men of Wit and Learning, and were pleas'd as much with his Converſation as my Lord *Aſhley*, for though Mr. *Locke* had a ſerious Air and always ſpoke to theſe Lords in a modeſt and reſpectful manner; yet there was an agreeable mixture of Wit in his Converſation.

The freedom which he us'd with Perſons of this Rank had ſomewhat which I can't expreſs, that agreed very well with his Character. One day three or four of theſe Lords being met together at my Lord *Aſhley*'s, rather for their Diverſion than Buſineſs, after the uſual Complements were over, the Cards were brought when little or no Diſcourſe had paſſed between them. Mr. *Locke* took notice of the Game for ſome time, and then taking out his Pocket-book, he ſet himſelf to write ſomewhat with very great Seriousneſs, one of the Lords having obſerv'd it asks him what it was that he was writing. My Lord, ſays he, I endeavour to get as much as I can in your good Company, and having waited with impatience the Honour of being preſent at a Meeting of the wiſeſt and moſt ingenious men of the Age, and enjoying at length this Happineſs; I thought it was beſt to write your Converſation, and I have accordingly ſet down the ſubſtance of what has been ſaid within this hour or two. There was no need for Mr. *Locke* to read much of this Dialogue, theſe noble Lords perceiv'd the banter, and diverted themſelves a while with improving the jeſt; they left their play and enter'd into Converſation more agreeable to their Character and ſo ſpent the reſt of the day.

In 1668. The Earl and Countess of *Northumberland* having resolv'd to travel into *France* they desir'd Mr. *Locke* to make one of their Company; He readily comply'd with them, and stay'd in *France* with my Lady Countess whilst the Earl went to *Rome*. This noble Lord fell sick in the way and died, which oblig'd his Lady to return sooner to *England* than they had design'd at first. The Journey was without doubt very pleasant to Mr. *Locke*, for this Lady was every ways accomplish'd, she spar'd for no Expences, and wherever she came, she had very great Honours paid her.

Mr. *Locke* at his return into *England* Lodg'd, 'as before, at my Lord *Ashley's*, who was Chancellour of the Exchequer. However, he held his Place in the Colledge of *Christ-Church* at *Oxford*, * where he sometimes resided. Whilst he was at my Lord *Ashley's*, His Lordship intrusted him with the remaining part of the Education of his only Son, who was then but about Fifteen or sixteen years old, which Charge he carefully perform'd. This young Lord being of a very weakly Constitution, his Father thought to marry him betimes lest the Family should be extinct by his Death. He was too young, and had too little Experience to choose a Wife for himself; and my Lord *Ashley* not having time to make choice of a suitable Person for him, desir'd that Mr. *Locke* would undertake it. This was no easie Province, for though His Lordship did not insist upon a great Fortune for his Son, yet he would have him marry a Lady of a good Family, a sweet Temper, a fine Complexion, and above all one that had a good Education, and whose Carriage was as different as possible from the Behaviour of the Court and City Ladies. However Mr. *Locke* took upon him such a nice Business as this, and very happily acquitted himself of it, for from this Marriage sprung the present Earl of *Shaftsbury* with six other Children all very healthful, though his Father was but weak, and died some years ago. As Mr. *Locke* had the Care of great part of the Education of this Lord, so he was intrusted with his eldest Son's whom we had the Honour of seeing here in *Holland*, and whose good Sence, Judgment, Fancy, Learning, sweet and obliging Carriage, free from all formal and affected Ceremonies, with a natural and easie Eloquence, plainly shew us that he was Educated by no less excellent a Person than Mr. *Locke*, of which his Lordship hath testified a grateful Sense on all occasions, and always

* See the aforesaid Journal, he kept the Changes of the Air at *Oxford*, p. 116. & 202.

(speaks)

speaks of him with Signs of a more than ordinary esteem.

In the Year 1670, and 1671. Mr. Locke began his *Essay concerning Humane Understanding*, at the earnest request of Mr. Tyrell, and Mr. Thomas and some others of his Friends, who met sometimes in his Chamber to converse together, as he himself hath told me. But his Business and Travels hinder'd his finishing it at that time. I don't know whether it was not about this time that he was taken into the *Royal Society of London*.

In the Year 1672. My Lord *Ashley* was created *Earl of Shaftsbury*, and *Lord High Chancellour of England*, and gave Mr. Locke the Office of Secretary of the *Presentation of Benefices*; which he enjoy'd till the end of the Year 1673. when His Lordship return'd the great Seal to the King.

Mr. Locke whom this great Man made Privy to his most secret Affairs was joyn'd with him in his Disgrace, and afterwards gave his assistance to some pieces, which His Lordship Publish'd to stir up the *English Nation*, to have a watchful Eye over the Conduct of the *Roman Catholicks*, and to oppose the Designs of that Party.

On this occasion, I can't pass over in silence a remarkable thing which was transacted in the Parliament of *England* in 1672. It is well known, that at that time King *Charles the Second* in Conjunction with *France*, made War on the United Provinces: But the Summs that were sent him from *France* not being sufficient to carry on the War, He thought it necessary to try what the Parliament would raise him. For this purpose there was a draught prepar'd in the King's Council of the Speech, which the Lord Chancellour was to make to the Parliament to perswade them to approve of the War, which that Prince had declar'd against the *Dutch*. But this appearing too weak to the King and Council, as not pressing the Matter home enough, they thought fit to alter it, and in spite of the Lord Chancellour's Advice to insert these Words of *Cato*, *Delenda est Carthago*, intimating that it was the Interest of *England* utterly to ruine *Holland*. This being resolv'd, the Lord Chancellour must pronounce the Speech as it was prepar'd, his Lordship show'd a very great concern at this to Mr. Locke, and to another of his Friends, who hath since declar'd it in Writing: However the Lord Chancellour being look'd upon as the Mouth of the King, and not speaking in his own Name, and often contrary to his own particular Sentiments, his Lordship was oblig'd to get it by Heart, and altho' he spake very fluently, and had a great Presence of Mind,

Mind, yet he was so much disorder'd that he would have Mr. *Locke* behind him with the Speech in his hand, to prompt him if he should be at a stand. This made a great noise in *Holland*, and His Lordship was thought very ill of by those who were ignorant of his own Sentiments, and the Office of a Lord Chancellor. But this noble Lord in a little time after perceiving the Mark that the Court aim'd at, and the Duke of *Buckingham* having shewn him, that not only the Duke of *Tork*, but even the King was a *Papist*, (though he conceal'd it by setting up for a Wit, and by appearing on all occasions very indifferent as to Matters of Religion,) he left the Court Party, who in vain tryed all means to keep him in their Interest; His Lordship had so great an aversion to Popery, Tyranny, and arbitrary Power, that though he was in other things very moderate, there was no moving of him in these Respects. This is well known to all those who had the Honour of being acquainted with him, or who have had his Character from them.

However, the famous Sir *William Temple* in his *Memoirs* speaks very much to his disadvantage, and insinuates that he was one of the Authors of the War against the United Provinces in 1672. But it must be consider'd, that he had a private Picque against my Lord *Shaftsbury*, because when His Lordship was Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, he was against the King's making him a Present of Plate, which he desir'd at his Return from his Embassy, according to a Custom that his Lordship thought was very prejudicial to the King's Treasury; and this is a sufficient Reason, Why we should give but little credit to what Sir *William Temple* says, with respect to my Lord *Shaftsbury*. But to return to Mr. *Locke* in June 1673. He was made Secretary to the Commissioners of Trade, which Office brought him in Five hundred Pounds per Annum. But this Commission expir'd in December 1674.

In the following Summer * 1675. My Lord *Shaftsbury* thought it necessary for Mr. *Locke* to Travel, because he was very much inclin'd to the Phthisick, and he went to *Montpellier*, where he staid a considerable time. There it was, that he came acquainted with the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was then call'd Mr. *Herbert* (the name of his Family) because his eldest Brother was then living. He ever kept up his Friendship with him, and afterwards Dedicated to him his *Essay concerning Humane Understanding*, and I have heard him speak of this Lord, as one for whom he had a high Respect. From *Montpellier* he went to *Paris*, where

*See the Journal above-cited, p. 121.

he got acquainted with Monsieur *Justel*, at whose House the Learned generally met, and there he saw Monsieur *Guenelon* the famous Physician of *Amsterdam*, who used to Discourse there upon Anatomy with great Applause. Mr. *Locke* took down his Name, and the Place of his abode at *Amsterdam*, and his Friendship was very advantageous to him some years after this, as we shall see in the Consequence. He likewise entred into a particular Friendship with Monsieur *Toinard*, who shew'd a Copy of his *Harmonia Evangelica*, of which there were but Five or six compleat, and which he has not yet Publish'd, though he has been earnestly desir'd to do it. Mr. *Locke* had applyed himself particularly to the study of the New Testament, and we shall see hereafter what are the Fruits of his Labours.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* being reconcil'd to the Court (out of an honest Design of being as useful as he could to his Country) he was made President of the Council in the Year 1679, which oblig'd him to desire Mr. *Locke's* Return to *London*. He accordingly return'd thither; but not being wholly recover'd, and finding himself afflicted with an *Asthma* he could not tarry long at *London*; the Sea-coal that is burnt there being so very offensive to him. He was oblig'd from time to time, to pass some Weeks in the Country, that he might breath in a pure Air, free from the smoke of the Coals which is so troublesome at *London*, and sometimes he went to *Oxford*, where he still kept his Place in *Christ Church Colledge*.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* (as I have said,) having again taken his Place in the Council, for the good of the *English Nation*, rather than to carry on the Designs of the Court, which aim'd at the Establishment of Popery and Arbitrary Power, fresh Crimes were soon laid to his Charge, and the King sent him to the *Tower*. But he was acquitted, in spite of the Intreagues of the Court, and in *December* 1682. he retir'd into *Holland*. The late King, who was then *Prince of Orange*; knowing that His Lordship's only Crime was, that he oppos'd the Designs of the Court, he was receiv'd very kindly in *Holland*, and he made himself a Burgher of *Amsterdam*, lest the King should send to demand him of the States, which by a Treaty is oblig'd to deliver Traytors to the Crown of *England*, if they are not made Burghers of any Town in *Holland*, and *England* is oblig'd to do the same with respect to the States.

Mr. *Locke* did not think himself any longer safe in *England*; for though they could not hurt him according to a due form of Law,

Law, yet 'twas possible they might clap him up in Prison, and let him lie there some time to the endangering his Health and Life; so he follow'd His Lordship, who died soon after in *Holland*. It is an Honour to this Province, and to the Town of *Amsterdam* in particular, that it entertain'd and protect'd so illustrious a Refugee, without regarding those former Prejudices, which it had receiv'd against him on the account of the Speech, which he deliver'd as Lord Chancellour to the Parliament in the Year 1672. A grateful Sence of this is retain'd in the Family, as the present Earl of *Shaftsbury* his Grandson hath often told me. May this Town ever remain a safe Sanctuary to the Innocent, and by it's generous Carriage draw down upon it's self the Praises and Blessings of all those who are Lovers of Virtue, not only in it's Prosperity, but even when it suffers the sharpest Persecutions.

Mr. *Locke*, being at *Amsterdam* about the end of the Year 1683: renew'd the acquaintance; he began at *Paris* with Monsieur *Guenelon*, and got acquainted with his Father-in-Law Monsieur *Veen*, Senior Physician of this City, and one of its most skilful and fortunate Practitioners. In *January* 1684. Monsieur *Guenelon* being to dissect a Lioness, that died of the excessive cold that Winter. Mr. *Locke* came thither, and became acquainted with several other Physicians. Here he met with Monsieur *Limbroch*, Professor of Divinity among the Remonstrants, with whom he contracted a Friendship, that continu'd during the whole Course of his Life, and which he cultivated after his Return into *England*. I had the Honour also to be acquainted with him some time after, and have spent several hours with Pleasure and Profit in his Company; especially, after he told me his Mind in Philosophical Matters, which has been the Subject of many an hours Conversation. Having his Health better in *Holland*, than either in *England* or at *Montpellier*: He there carried on, and compleated his *Essay concerning Humane Understanding*, of which he shew'd me several Chapters in Manuscript.

Mr. *Locke* had not been a year out of *England*, before he was accus'd at Court of writing several Pamphlets against the Government, which were said to come from *Holland*. But afterwards were found to be done by other hands; for this Reason, as was reported, the King sent Order to Mr. *Fell*, then Bishop of *Oxford*, and Dean of *Christ-Church* to turn Mr. *Locke* out of his Fellowship in the Colledge. The Bishop, who was a virtuous and Learned man, and always had a respect and kindness for Mr. *Locke*, receiv'd the Message with a great deal of uneasiness,

as may be seen by his Actions. He immediately sends for Mr. Tyrell, Mr. *Lock's* Friend to speak with him, and was so convinced of Mr. *Lock's* Innocence, that instead of executing the Order, he wrote to him the 8th of *November*, to appear and answer for himself the 1st of *January* of the ensuing Year. In the mean time he acquaints my Lord *Sunderland*, then Secretary of State with what he had done in these Terms, from which we may learn much of Mr. *Lock's* Character. *Mr. Locke being a great Friend of the late Earl of Shaftsbury; and being suspected not to be well affected to the Government, I have had my Eye over him for several years, but he has always been so much upon his Guard, that after several strict Enquiries I can confidently assure you, there is no Person in our Colledge, how familiar soever he has been with him, that has heard him say any thing against the Government, or that any ways concerns it; and tho' we have often designedly, given him occasion in publick and private Discourse to talk of the Earl of Shaftsbury, by speaking ill of him, his Party and Designs, yet we could never see, either by his Words or Looks, that he thought himself at all concern'd in the Matter; so that we believe, there is not a Man in the World so much Master of his Tongue and Passions as he is.*

This is the more to be admir'd; because Mr. *Locke* was naturally a little hasty. But perceiving their Designs to trapan him, he oblig'd himself to be silent. He might easily see that to defend His Lordship before them, could do him no Service, and would bring himself into Trouble.

Dr. *Fell* in what he wrote, without doubt design'd to serve Mr. *Locke*; but the King sending a second Letter, he was forced to take away his Fellowship of *Christ-Church Colledge* at *Oxford*.

After the Death of *Charles the Second* (which was on the 6th of *February 1685*.) Mr. *Penn*, whom Mr. *Locke* had known at the University, and who very generously imploy'd that Interest he had in King *James*, endeavour'd to procure his Pardon, and had certainly obtain'd it; if Mr. *Locke* had not answer'd, that he had no occasion for a Pardon, having been guilty of no Crime.

In the Spring of the Year 1685. The Duke of *Monmouth* was in *Holland*, and several other Gentlemen, and Nobles with him, disaffected to King *James's* Government, making Preparations for his unfortunate Enterprize. King *James* being inform'd of their Designs sent to Mr. *Skelton*, his Envoy at the *Hague*, the 17th of *May*, to demand of the States Fourscore and four Persons, and amongst them Mr. *Locke*, whom they had thus describ'd
formerly

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formerly Secretary to the Earl of Shaftsbury, altho' he never had that Business or Title in his Lordships House, but liv'd there as a Friend: His Name was the last in the List, and, as I remember, 'twas said, he was not in the List that came from *England*, but that the *English Consul*, that was then in *Holland*, order'd it to be added to the rest. However, I believe one may rest satisfy'd, that he had no Correspondence with the Duke of *Monmouth*, of whom he had not such high Thoughts, as to expect any thing from his Undertaking; besides he was of a peaceable Temper, and rather fearful than couragious.

About the end of the Year 1684. he was at *Utrecht*, and the next Spring went to *Amsterdam*, with design to return to *Utrecht*, as he did afterwards, not imagining he should be esteem'd an Accomplice of the Duke of *Monmouth*: He had formerly had a desire to lodge with Mr. *Guenelon*, but he excus'd himself, because it was not the Custom of their City to give Lodgings to Strangers, tho' otherwise he had a great esteem for him, and was very well pleas'd with his Visits. But when Mr. *Guenelon* saw his danger, and that it was Time to do him a kindness, he generously engag'd his Father in Law Mr. *Veen* to entertain him in his House, and wrote to *Utrecht* to advertise him of it, as did Mr. *Limborch* on the part of Mr. *Veen*. Mr. *Locke* on this came to *Amsterdam*, and conceal'd himself at Mr. *Veen's* two or three Months; and in the mean time, Mr. *Limborch* convey'd the Letters that were wrote to him, and kept Mr. *Lock's* Will, which he desir'd him to send to one of his Relations, whom he named, if he should Die. In the mean Time, they consulted one of the chief Magistrates of the Town, to know if he might be safe there; who replied, that he could not protect him, if the King of *England* sent for him, but that he would not deliver him, and would not fail to give notice of it to Mr. *Veen*.

This did a little compose his mind, and he stay'd with Mr. *Veen* till September, going out only in the Nights to prevent being discover'd: But being perswaded to go rather to *Cleves*, he went thither, but came back the beginning of November. 'Twas at Mr. *Veen's* that he compos'd his Latin Letter of Toleration, which was Printed at *Tergou* in 1689. and entituled, *Epistola de Tolerantia ad Clarissimum virum, T. A. R. P. T. O. L. A. scripta a P. J. P. O. J. L. A.* The first Letters signifie, *Theologie apud Rem ystanes Professore, Tyrannydis osorem Limburgium Amstelodamensem*; and the Latter, *Pacis amico, Persequutionis osore, Joanne Lockio Anglo*. This little Book was Translated into Eng-

lish, and Printed twice at London in the Year 1690. It was abridg'd in the fifteenth Tome of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, Article the Fourteenth. About this Time, it was also that Mr. Locke read and approv'd of several Pieces of *Episcopus*; (for till then he knew the Remonstrants only by hear-say, and a little Conversation he had with them here) and was surprized to find their Sentiments nearer to his own than he imagin'd, and afterwards made great use of the Light that he receiv'd from them.

At the end of the Year, Mr. Locke went to lodge at Mr. Guenelon's, where he was likewise the Year following.

It being evident to all, that he had no Hand in the Enterprize of the Duke of Monmouth, he began to appear again in Publick in the Year 1686. and then gave me the * *Nouvelle*

* *A new Method of making Common-place Books.*

Methode de dresser des Recueils, which is in the Second Tome of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*. He made me likewise several Extracts of Books, as that of Mr. Boyle concerning *specifique Remèdes*, which is in the same Tome, and some others that are in the following. I sent him some Copies of his *Methode* to Utrecht, (whither he went in Autumn) which I had Printed by themselves, and he order'd me to send some to Mr. Toimard, to whom it was dedicated tho' his Name was not set before it.

At the end of the Year Mr. Locke return'd to Amsterdam, and took up his Lodgings at Mr. Guenelon's, his old Quarters.

In 1687. he desir'd that Mr. Limborch, and I, and some other Friends would set up Conferences, and that to this end we should meet together once in a Week, sometimes at one House and then at another, by turns; and that there should be some Question propos'd, of which every one should give his Opinion at the next Meeting, and I have still by me the Rules, which he would have had us observe written in *Latin* by his own Hand. But our Conferences were interrupted by his Absence, because he went to Rotterdam, where he lodg'd with Mr. Farly, he return'd again to Amsterdam, tho' it was but for a little Time.

Towards the Latter End of this Year he made an Abridgment, in English, of his *Essay concerning Humane Understanding*, which was then in Manuscript. I translated it into French, and Publish'd it in the eight Tome of the *Bibliothèque Universelle* in January 1688. and I had some Copies of it Printed by themselves, to which he added a short Dedication to the Earl of Pembroke. This Abridgment pleas'd a great many Persons, and made them desirous of seeing the Work intire; but several who had never heard

The Life of Mr. John Locke, &c.

heard of the Name of Mr. Locke, and who had only seen the Abridgment in the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, thought that it was a Project of a Work which was but yet design'd, and that I Father'd it upon an *English* Man, to know what the World thought of it, but they were soon undeceiv'd.

At length the Happy Revolution in *England* at the end of the Year 1688. and the beginning of 1689. by the Courage and good Conduct of the *Prince of Orange*, open'd a way to his return into his own Country, and he went thither in *February* 1689. with the same Fleet that Conducted over the *Princess of Orange*. At *London* he endeavour'd to recover his right of Fellow of *Christ-Church Colledge in Oxford*, not that he had any design of living there, but only that the World might see the wrong that was done him. This would have been granted him, but since the Members of that Society could not come to a Resolution of turning him out, that was put in his Place, and they would have kept him as a Supernumerary, he withdrew his Suit.

Mr. Locke being very much taken Notice of, and esteem'd by several Noblemen, that were after the Revolution in Favour with the Court, he might very easily have got into some considerable Office: But he contented himself with being of one of the *Commissioners of Appeals*, which brought him in Two Hundred Pounds *per Annum*, and which suited him, because it did not require a constant Attendance. This Office is at the disposal of the Lords of the Treasury and the Lord *Mordaunt*, who was one of them, and who was since created Earl of *Monmouth* and then of *Peterborough*, desiring it for him, the other Lords agreed to it. About the same Time, Mr. Locke had the offer of a publick Character, and it was put to his Choice, whether he would go as *Envoy* either to the *Emperor*, or to the *Electör of Brandebourg*, or any other Court, where he thought the Air might agree best with his Health which was very unsettled; but fearing least the Service of the King might suffer, if the Air of the Place did not agree with him, or that it would endanger his Life, unless he made a speedy return, he refus'd an Office of this Nature.

However he improv'd his time another way, for a *Divine* Writing against his first Letter concerning Toleration; he answer'd him in 1690. by a second Letter, which is abridg'd in the nineteenth Tome of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*. Article the second. He did not set his Name to it, that he might not be engag'd

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gag'd in any personal Quarrels, which might possibly have turn'd to his disadvantage, without serving any ways to the advancement of Truth. But the Style of it plainly shew'd the Author. It was in the same Year likewise, that the first Edition of his *Essay concerning Humane Understanding* was Printed in *Folio*; it has since had three Editions in the same Language, in 1694, 1697, and in 1700. This last year it was Publish'd in *French* at *Amsterdam*, by *H. Schelte*, *Mr. Coste*, who was then in the same House with the Author, translated it under his inspection with very great Care, Fidelity and Plainness; and this Version is very much esteem'd. It hath made known his Opinions to those that are on this side the water, and more at large, than the Abridgment that was Publish'd in 1688. could do. The Author being present, he corrected several places in the Original, that he might make them more plain and easie to translate, and very carefully revis'd the Translation; so that it is not in the least inferior to the *English*, and often more clear; this Book was likewise translated into *Latin* by *Mr. Burridge* in 1701. there is besides a small Abridgment of it in *English*, by *Mr. Wynne*. The fourth *English* Edition is the best and most enlarg'd. Those who have compar'd it with the former, may have observ'd in it, that sincerity and that Love to Truth, which the Author discovers in the Twenty first Chapter of the second Book, where he treats concerning *Power*; for he has made several Alterations in the Idea, that he had given of the manner, wherein we are determin'd to *Will*. Few Philosophers can perswade themselves to correct their Thoughts, and there is nothing they will not do rather than confess their Mistakes. But *Mr. Locke* had too great a Love for Truth to follow their Example, and he himself acknowledges in his Preface; that after a more near Examination of the Matter, he had reason to alter his Opinion.

He Publish'd likewise the same year his two Treatises of *Government*, which are spoken of in the nineteenth Tome of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*. Article the Eight; this Book was afterwards translated into *French*, and Printed at *Amsterdam*, and has been reprinted in *English*, in 1694, and 1698. We shall in a little time see another *English* Edition of it, much more correct than the former, as well as a better *French* Version. *Mr. Locke* did not put his Name to it, because the Principles which he there establishes, are contrary to those, which were generally taught in *England* before the Revolution, and which tended to establish an arbitrary Power that was not restrain'd by any Laws. He entirely
over-

overthrew these *Turkish* Politicks, which some Persons preach'd up as an Article of Religion, to flatter those that aspir'd to a Power, which is above Humane Nature.

Mr. Locke liv'd at *London* about two years after the Revolution, esteem'd by all those that knew him, he convers'd familiarly with Persons of the highest Rank; but nothing pleas'd him more than the weekly Conferences, that he had with the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was then Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and who has since been made President of the Privy Council, which Post he now holds with general Approbation under her present Majesty. When the Air of *London* began to affect his Lungs, he went for some days to a Seat, that the Earl of *Peterborough* had a little out of Town, where he always met with a hearty Welcome, but he was oblig'd afterwards to think of quite leaving *London*, at least all the Winter Season, and to go to some place at a greater distance.

He had made some Visits at different times to Sir *Francis Masham*, who liv'd at *Oates* a little more than 20 Miles from *London*, where he found the Air so good, that he thought there was none could suit better with his Constitution; besides the agreeable Company that he found at Sir *Francis Masham's*, which would beautifie the most melancholy place, was one great Motive no doubt, to incline him to desire that Gentleman to receive him into his Family, that he might settle there and expect his Death; in applying himself to his Studies, as much as his weak Health would allow. He was receiv'd on his own Terms, that he might have his entire Liberty there, and look upon himself as at his own House; and it was in this pleasant Society that he pass'd the rest of his Life, and from which he was absent as little as possible, because the Air of *London* grew more and more troublesome to him; he went thither only in the Summer for Three or four Months, and if he return'd to *Oates* any thing indispos'd, the Air of the Country soon recover'd him.

In 1692. he put out his Third Letter of *Toleration*, in which he answer'd some new Objections, that had been made against his Opinions with so great strength and accuracy, as made it needless for him to write any thing farther on that Subject: And here I can't but take notice of the strange and unaccountable Temper of some Men, who though they are fully convinc'd, that their clear and distinct knowledge, is of a very small Extent, and that they are very easily mistaken in the Judgments they pass of things, will yet when it is in their Power persecute others, because they differ from them in their Notions, and this at the same time, that

they would think it very hard if they were on the weaker side, to be persecuted on this account themselves; but it is yet more strange that they should interest Religion in the case, and imploy it's Authority to defend those Practices which it expressly forbids. This can only proceed from a proud and tyrannical Spirit, which passes upon the World under the disguise of Piety, almost after the same manner, as the Itch after arbitrary Power, conceals itself under the specious Pretext of the publick Good, how contrary soever it may be to it.

But this is no proper place to bewail these Irregularities of the mind of Man; the *English* Nation however is highly oblig'd to Mr. Locke, for having undeceiv'd a great many Persons, and made them detest those persecuting Maxims, which for want of due Consideration they had embrac'd. 'Tis well known, that about this time the Coin of *England* was very bad, having been so much clip'd through the negligence of the proceeding Reigns, who had not taken Care to remedy it, that it wanted above a Third it's due Weight. The effect of this was that the People thought themselves a great deal Richer, than indeed they were; For although the Coin was not rais'd in it's value by any publick Authority, it was put off in Trade for above a third part more than it weigh'd. This was very prejudicial to Trade on several Accounts, of which I shall not here take any notice.

Mr. Locke had observed this disorder ever since his Return to *England*, and he frequently spoke of it, that he might put the Nation upon taking some measures to prevent it. He said then, That the Nation was in greater Danger from a secret unobserv'd abuse, than from all those other Evils, of which Persons were generally so apprehensive; and that if Care were not taken to rectifie the Coin, that Irregularity alone wou'd prove fatal to us, though we shou'd succeed in every thing else. One day when he seem'd very much disturbed about this Matter, some Persons rally'd him, as if he tormented himself with a groundless Fear; he answer'd, That Persons might laugh if they pleas'd, but they wou'd find in a very short time that if Care was not taken, we shou'd want Money in *England* to buy Bread. And it happen'd accordingly in 1695. So that the Parliament were forced to rectifie that abuse the beginning of the following Year. In order to stir up the *English* Nation, to take this Matter into Consideration.

Mr. Locke Publish'd in 1692: a little Treatise entituled, Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of the Interest;

terest, and Raising the value of Money, which was sent to a Member of Parliament 1691. In which we may find several nice and curious Observations on both those Subjects, as well as the Trade of *England* in general, afterwards in 1695. He took this Subject in hand again; when, according to his Prediction the Nations danger obliged the Parliament, to think seriously of this Matter. By this it appears, that he was able to reason on the common Affairs of Life, as well as on the most abstracted Subjects; and that he was none of those Philosophers, who spend their whole Lives in the search after Truths purely Speculative, but by their Ignorance of those things which concern the publick Good, are rendred incapable of serving their Country.

In 1693. He Publish'd his *Thoughts concerning the Education of Children*, to which he added several things in two other Editions, he put out of it in 1694, and 1698. this Book was also translated into *French* and *Dutch* in *Holland*; and although there are many things in it, that respect the Faults peculiar to the *English* way of educating Children, yet it contains several Remarks that may be useful to other Nations.

In 1695. Mr. *Locke* was made a *Commissioner of the Trade and Plantations*, these Commissioners compose a Council, that takes Care of every thing relating to the *English* Trade and Plantations; and have every one a Salary of a Thousand pounds a year. He discharged the Duties of this place with a great deal of Care, and universal Approbation, till the Year 1700, in which he quitted it, being no longer able to live in *London* as he did before. He acquainted no Person with his Design of leaving that place, 'till he had given up his Commission into the King's hands. His Majesty was very unwilling to receive it, and told Mr. *Locke* he shou'd be very glad if he wou'd continue in his Service, tho' he gave never so little Attendance, and that he did not desire him to stay in Town one day, to the prejudice of his Health. But he told his Majesty, That he cou'd not in Conscience hold a place, to which a considerable Salary was annexed, without performing the Duties of it, and that he did therefore humbly desire a Discharge. A great many Persons would not have been so scrupulous in this Matter as he was, but wou'd have accepted the King's Grant, or at least wou'd have endeavour'd to resign such a place as this to their advantage.

And indeed he deserved to enjoy the Salary belonging to that place, even though he should have performed none of its Duties; if it were only on the Account of being one of those,

who took the greatest Pains to convince the Parliament, that the only way to preserve the Trade of *England*, was to new Mint the Mony without raising its Value to the Publick Loss; for this end he wrote a little Treatise, containing *New Considerations on the raising the Price of Coin*, which he Publish'd in 1695. This Treatise together with several others were Reprinted in the Year after, with the Title of *Papers concerning Mony, Interest, and Trade*. The Parliament following his Opinion in this Matter, made in the midst of a dangerous War, such a Reformation in the Coin, as many Nations wou'd have hardly undertaken in a Time of Peace. 'Tis well known, that there are some Kingdoms, wherein to fill the Princes Treasury out of the Pockets of private Persons, the Mony is made to rise or fall without any regard to the loss the Publick sustains thereby: But such Maxims are not approved of in *England*.

In the same Year 1695. Mr. *Locke* put out his Book of the *Reasonableness of Christianity*; wherein he shows, that the Christian Religion as deliver'd in the Scriptures, is the most reasonable Institution in the World: We have acquainted the Publick with the design of this Book, in the 2d Tome of this *Bibliothèque Choisie*, Art. 8. it was quickly after Translated into *French* and *Dutch*, and attack'd in *England* by a passionate Divine. In 1696. the Author answer'd that Book, and after defended his Answer with such Strength of Reason, and yet with so great Moderation, that he might justly have expected of his Adversary a publick Acknowledgment of his Error, had he not been one of those sort of Men, who are equally Strangers to Shame and Justice. Mr. *Locke* was also obliged to Mr. *Bold* Minister of *Steeple* in *Dorsetshire*, who defended his Book without knowing the Author, in two short Discourses that came out in 1697, as also in a Second Answer of which we have spoken, in the 2d Tome of this *Bibliothèque Choisie*. Art. 8.

Some time before this, there came out a Book at *London*, intitled, *Christianity not Mysteious*; in which the Author pretended to prove, that there is nothing in the Christian Religion, not only which, is contrary to Reason, but even which is above it. This Author in explaining the Nature of Reason, had made use of several Reasonings, that were very like to some Mr. *Locke* imployes in his Treatise of *Humane Understanding*.

It happen'd also, that some *English Unitarians* had about that time Publish'd several little Books, in which they talked very much about Reason, and laid down their Notions of what was
contrary.

contrary to it, and affirm'd there was no such Doctrine in the Christian Religion. Mr. *Locke* had also with a great deal of Truth asserted, that Revelation delivers nothing contrary to any plain Consequences of Reason. All these Things put together, engaged Dr. *Stillingfleet* the late Bishop of *Worcester*, to join Mr. *Locke* in Company with those Persons in a Book he put out in 1697. Wherein he depends the Doctrine of the Trinity against them. * In this Book he opposed some Notions of Mr. *Locke* concerning the Knowledge * Chap. 10. we have of Substances, and some other Things, fearing, without Reason, that those Notions might be brought in favour of some Heretical Opinions; Mr. *Locke* answer'd him, and the Bishop Reply'd the same Year. This Reply was confuted by a Second Letter of Mr. *Locke*, which drew a Second Answer from that Learned Bishop in 1698. and Mr. *Locke* answer'd that in a Third Letter, in 1699. wherein he discoursed more at large, of the Certainty by Reason or by Ideas, of the Certainty of Faith, of the Resurrection of the same Body, and the Immateriality of the Soul, and show'd the perfect Agreement of his Principles with Faith, and had not the least tendency to Scepticism as Dr. *Stillingfleet* had affirm'd. But the Bishop dy'd sometime after this, and so the Dispute ended.

We may observe Two Things more especially in this Dispute, the one relating to the Subject of it, the other to the Manner wherein that was handled. Every Body admired the Strength of Mr. *Locke's* reasonings, and his great clearness and exactness not only in explaining his own Notions, but in laying open those of his Adversary. Nor were they less surprized, that a Man of the Bishops Learning shou'd ingage in a Controversie, wherein he had all the disadvantages possible, for he was by no means able to maintain his Opinions against Mr. *Locke*, whose Notions he neither understood, nor the Thing it self about which he Disputed. This famous Prelate had spent the greatest Part of his time in the Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities, and reading an infinite number of Books, but was no great Philosopher, and had never used himself to that close Correct way of Thinking and Writing in which Mr. *Locke* did particularly excel. However this excellent Philosopher, tho' he had much the better in the Controversie, and had Reason enough to complain of the Bishop for having charged him unjustly, and without a sufficient acquaintance with the Subject he handled, was yet very far from abusing the Advantages he

had, but always detected and refused his Errors with civility and respect. He shews, 'tis true, that the Bishop did not understand the Things he talk'd about, and was very uncorrect in his Expressions, but he do's rather seem to insinuate it, by producing his own Words and leaving the World to judge, than reflect on him for it. For my Part, I confess, I never read a Dispute managed in so cool Blood, or with so much Art and Exactness on the one side, nor on the other, so unjustly, confusedly, or so little to the Credit of the Author.

I was also surprized at the Bishops Censure of
 * *Curcellaus.* * Mr. *de Courcelles*; in the 6th Chapter of his Defence of the Trinity, and wonder'd how he cou'd think so easily to Answer him. I must confess indeed, that the Bishop has Reason in asserting, that St. Hilary in the † Passage Mr. *de Courcelles* cites out of his Book, *de Synodis*, do's speak to the Eastern Bishops, and not to those of Gaul and Germany as he thought. But then it must also be granted, that in the main Mr. *de Courcelles* has in his Dissertation concerning the Words Trinity, &c. very faithfully represented the Opinion of St. Hilary. Dr. Stillingfleet had either read this Book without due Attention, or forgot its Contents, for of all other Books, this do's most clearly prove, that the Orthodox of that Time believ'd, that the Divine Nature as a Species did contain under it Three Persons numerically distinguisht.

St. Hilary a little before the * Passage that
 * *Num. 76. E. just. Edit.* gave Dr. Stillingfleet occasion to charge Mr. *de Courcelles* with a gross Mistake, explains how according to the *Semi-Arians*; it might be said, that the Father and Son *have a like Essence*? And then delivers his own Opinion in the following Words. “Caret igitur, “Fratres, similitudo Naturæ contumeliæ suspicione; nec potest “videri Filius idcirco in proprietate Paternæ Naturæ non esse “quia similis est, cum similitudo nulla sit nisi ex æqualitate “Naturæ; æqualitas autem Naturæ non potest esse, nisi una “sit; una verò non Personæ Unitate, sed GENESIS. That is, Therefore Brethren, the Son may without Danger of Blasphemy, be said to be of a like Nature with the Father, and tho' he be said to be like him, it do's not follow that therefore he is not of the same Nature, for Similitude flows from Equality

† By Personæ we must understand a Substance, and not a Mode, which is called Personality.

Equality of Nature, now there can be no Equality of Nature, but where the Nature is one, and that not with a Personal, but Generical Unity. Now a Person who reads this with any tolerable degree of Attention, will easily see, that supposing the Unity of the Divine Nature to be Numerical, 'tis Nonsense to say the Nature of the Son is *equal* or *like* to that of the Father; but that this way of Expression is proper enough in the Mouth of those Persons, who believe the Father and Son are one in *Specie* or *generically* as St. Hilary speaks. See also the 15th Article in the *Bened.* Edition. The same Thing might be plainly proved out of his Books of the *Trinity*. If Dr. *Stillingfleet* had examin'd St. Hilary only, carefully and without Prejudice, he wou'd have been of the same mind with Mr. de Courcelles, and wou'd never have differ'd with him about a trifling incident, while in the main of the Controversie, he gives a very true Account of the Doctrine of the Fathers in this Point. I shall say no more on this Head, and I hope no Person will be offended at this little Digression I have made, to defend at once the Truth and Honour of Mr. de Courcelles, who was my Grandmothers Brother, against the Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet*, for whose excellent Writings I nevertheless have an high Esteem.

But to return to Mr. Locke, 'tis very strange he shou'd be able to write so much at so great an Age, and when besides his Health was so infirm, by reason of the Indisposition of his Lungs. In 1697. he was obliged to go to London in very cold Weather, because the King desired to see him. And that Journey made his Lungs much worse, than ever they had been before. He was so bad, that for three or four Days, while he was in London, he cou'd not lie down; and I remember, that in a Letter I then receiv'd from him, he told me he was reduced to a perfect * Or-
thopnea.

* A difficulty of breathing, when a Man can't fetch his breath, but holding his Neck upright.

He returned to Oates in so weak a Condition, that he never recover'd his former health. He said that his Majesty (who was also Asthmatick) having heard of his skill in Physick, desired to Discourse with him about his own Indisposition. And I remember I heard, a little while after, that Mr. Locke had advis'd the King to abstain from Wine, and all Foods that were heavy and clogging. But however, the King kept to his usual Manner of Living; tho' he signify'd to some

of those who were near his Person, that he had a high Esteem for Mr. Locke.

Some Years before his Death, he apply'd himself intirely to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, and found so much Pleasure therein, that he was very much troubled he had apply'd his Mind to that Study no sooner. The World has seen the Fruits of these Studies in his *Reasonableness of Christianity*, of which we have already spoken, and which is one of the best Pieces that has been Publish'd these many years, on that Subject, and with that Design. There is also, lately come out a Paraphrase of his on the Epistle to the *Galatians*, of which we shall give some account in another Tome of this *Bibliothèque Choisie*; as also of those he has written on the Epistle to the *Romans*, *Corinthians*, and *Ephesians*, when they shall be Publish'd.

Above a year before his Death, he grew so very weak that he cou'd not apply himself closely to any thing, nor so much as write a Letter to a Friend without great Difficulty. Before he had always made use of his own hand for whatever he had to write, and so having not been used to Dictate, he could not employ an *Amanuensis* to ease himself. But though his Body grew weaker, he still kept his good Humour, and if his Lungs wou'd have permitted him to speak, his Conversation wou'd have been as pleasant and entertaining as ever. A few weeks

* *Vivons pendant que vous vivons.*

before his Death, he perceiv'd he shou'd not live long, but yet he continued as chearful and pleasant as before; and when some Persons seem'd to wonder at it, he would say, * *While we are alive let us live.*

This Study of the Holy Scriptures wrought in him a lively and sincere, though unaffected Piety. Having not been able to go to Church for a considerable time; he thought convenient, some Months before he dy'd, to receive the blessed Sacrament at home according to a usual Practice of the Church of *England*; and two of his Friends communicated with him. When the Minister had performed his Office, Mr. Locke told him, *That he was in perfect Charity with all Men, and in a sincere Communion with the Church of Christ, by what Names soever it might be distinguished.* He was a Man of too great Understanding; to take the Sacrament as a Test of a Schism or Party; as a great many ignorant Persons do, who by Communicating with their own Church, condemn all other Christian Societies. He had a deep Sense of the Divine Wisdom, that discovers it self in those methods God has

has taken in saving Men; and when he discoursed about it, he cou'd not forbear joyning with the Apostle in the Exclamation: *Oh the depths of the Riches and Wisdom of God.* And he was perswaded that all Persons wou'd be of the same Mind, who shou'd read the Scriptures without prejudice; and this Study he very frequently recommended to those, with whom he conversed towards the latter end of his Life. This Application to these Holy Writings, had given him a more noble and compleat Idea of the Christian Religion than he had before; and if he had enjoy'd strength enough, to have begun any new Works, 'tis very likely he wou'd have compos'd some on purpose, to have impress'd this great and sublime Idea, on the Minds of others in all its extent.

Some weeks before his Death he cou'd walk no longer, and so was carried about the House in an armed Chair; but my Lady *Masham* going to see him on the 27th of *October* (O. S.) 1704, and not finding him in his Study where he us'd to be, but in Bed, seem'd to wonder at that Alteration, he told her, he cou'd not bear the fatigue of rising, having weary'd himself too much with it the day before, and that he did not know whether he shou'd ever rise again. He cou'd not Dine that day, and after Dinner some Persons who kept him Company went into his Chamber, and asked him if they shou'd read something, to divert him, but he refus'd it. However some Papers being brought into his Chamber, he inquired what they were after they were read, he said, *That his work here was almost at an end, and he thanked God for it.* Thereupon some body coming near his Bed, he desired, *They would remember him in the Evening Prayers.* They told him, that if he pleas'd the Family wou'd come to Prayers into his Chamber, to which he agreed. They asked him, if he thought he was near Death, he answer'd, *That he might perhaps die that Night, but that he cou'd not live above three or four days.* He was then in a cold Sweat, but that left him in a little time. He was asked to take some Mum, a Liquor which he has drunk with Pleasure the week before, and which, as I have heard him say, he look'd upon it to be the most wholesome of all strong Drinks; he took some Spoonfuls then, and drank to the Health of the Company, *Wishing all of them Happiness when he shou'd be gone;* afterwards there being no body else in the Chamber but my Lady *Masham*, who sat by the bed-side, he exhorted her, *To look on this World only as a State of Preparation for a better,* he added, *That he had lived long enough, and that*

he thanked God he had enjoy'd an happy Life; but that after all, he look'd upon this Life to be nothing but vanity. After Supper the Family came up into his Chamber to Prayers; and between eleven and twelve a Clock, he seem'd to be a little better. My Lady *Masham* wou'd have watch'd with him, but he wou'd not permit her, saying, that, perhaps he might sleep, and that if he shou'd find any Alteration, he wou'd send for her; he did not sleep that Night, but resolv'd to try to rise the next Day, as he did. He was carry'd into his Study, and was set in an easier Chair, where he slept, by Fits, some considerable time. Then thinking himself somewhat better, he had a mind to be Drest as he used to be, and ask'd for some Small-beer, which he used very seldom to taste; after that he desired my Lady *Masham*, who was reading to her self in the *Psalms*, while they Drest him, to read aloud, which accordingly she did, and he seem'd very attentive, till he was hinder'd by the nearer approaches of Death, upon which he desired her to read no more, and died a few minutes after, on the 28th of *October*, (O. S.) 1704. about Three in the Afternoon, in the 73d. Year of his Age.

Thus died one of the greatest Philosophers of our Age, who after he had made himself a perfect Master of almost all the parts of Philosophy, and discover'd its greatest Secrets with uncommon strength of Reason, and correctness of Thought, happily turned his Studies to the Christian Religion, which he examin'd in its Original, with the same Liberty he had used in his Study of other Sciences, and which he judg'd so reasonable and excellent an Institution, that he Dedicated the remainder of his Life to the contemplation of it, and endeavour'd to raise in the Minds of others the same high Veneration he had for it himself; and as he did not choose a religious Course of Life in a fit of Discontent or ill Humour, so his Piety was neither tainted with Melancholly nor Superstition. The same Light that guided him in his philosophical Studies, directed him in explaining the New Testament, and kindled in his Soul a rational Piety, such as was worthy of him, who gave us our Reason for no other end, but that by it we might be help'd to make a good use of Revelation; and who by revealing his Will, supposes we will imploy the Judgment and Understanding he has given us, in acknowledging, admiring, and following it.

There is no need for me here to write a Panegyrick on Mr. *Locke*: His Works which are read in several Languages, are a sufficient,

sufficient, and will be an eternal Monument of his vast Genius, sharp Wit, and exact Judgment. I shall only insert a Character of him, which I receiv'd from a considerable Person, to whom he was perfectly well known.

“ Mr. Locke, said she, (and I can bear Witness to her Evidence in a great measure, by what I have seen my self in *Holland*) was a great Philosopher, and a fit Person to be employ'd in Affairs of the highest Consequence. He understood the politer Parts of Learning perfectly well; and was very genteel and ingaging in his Conversation. He knew somewhat of all those things that are of real use to Mankind; and was a perfect Master of what he had particularly study'd. But yet he was not puff'd up by all this, nor ever seem'd to have a better Opinion of himself because of his Knowledge. No one was farther from assuming a magisterial Air, or was less positive in his Assertions than he, and he was not in the least offended with those that did not assent to his Opinions. But he cou'd not bear with a sort of Cavillers, who will not drop the Dispute, though they have been often refuted, and can only repeat the same things. He spake to such Persons sometimes with a little heat, but he himself wou'd first take notice of his being any ways moved.

“ In the most considerable Affairs of Life, as well in Matters of Speculation. He was always ready to hear Reason from any Person whomsoever it came. He was indeed the faithful Servant, nay I may say, the devoted Slave of Truth, which he loved for it self, and which no consideration was ever able to make him Desert.

“ He suited his Discourse to the meanest Capacities; and in disputing with such Persons, he gave their Objections against him their utmost weight, not taking advantages of his Adversaries, if they had not expressed themselves so correctly as they ought. He conversed very freely, and willingly with all sorts of Persons, endeavouring to Learn something from them: And this proceeded not only from his genteel Education, but from his professed Opinion, that some good thing or other might be learn'd from any Person whatsoever. And by this means, he had attain'd to such a considerable Knowledge of several particular Arts, and Trades, that one wou'd have thought, he had made the Study of those things a great part of his Business. For even Tradesmen by Profession would ask his Advice, and were frequently in-

E 2 “ trusted

“fructed by him in things relating to their several Em-
 “ployments.

“If there was any thing that he cou’d not bear, ’twas ill
 “Manners, which were indeed very ungrateful to him, when
 “he perceived they did not arise from want of Conversation,
 “and Knowledge of the World, but from Pride; Ill-nature,
 “Brutality, and other Vices of that Nature. Otherwise he
 “was very far from despising any Persons, though their Per-
 “sons were never so mean. He look’d on Civility to be not
 “only something very agreeable and proper to win upon

* ’Tis Prin-
 ted among the
 Essays de Mo-
 rale. de Port-
 royal.

“Men, but also a Duty of Christianity, and which
 “ought to be more pressed, and urged upon Men,
 “than it commonly is. He recommend on this
 “occasion, a * Treatise written by the Gentlemen
 “of the Port royal, Concerning the means to preserve
 “Peace among Men, and he very much admired

“Sermons he heard from Dr. Whitchcot on this Subject, and
 “which have been since Printed.

“His Conversation was very agreeable to all sorts of Per-
 “sons, even to the Ladies themselves; and no Person was
 “more civilly entertain’d than he, by Persons of the highest
 “Quality. For if he had not naturally those Qualifications;
 “that under the Conversation of genteel and accomplish’d Per-
 “sons more easie, free, and less formal than that of other Persons,
 “yet he had acquired them by his Acquaintance with the world.
 “And this recommended him so much the more, because Per-
 “sons who knew him not, did not expect that Politeness in a
 “Man so much given to study as he was. Those who were
 “desirous of his Conversation, to Learn those things that
 “might be expected in a Man of his Learning, and accord-
 “ingly address’d him with great respect, were surprized to
 “find in him, not only the Civility of a well educated Person,
 “but even all the Politeness that can be desired.

“He spake very often against Raillery, which indeed is the
 “nicest Point in Conversation, and of dangerous Consequence,
 “if not prudently managed. And yet no Person rally’d with
 “a better Grace than he; but he always took Care to say no-
 “thing offensive, or prejudicial to any Person. He knew how
 “to give a pleasant and agreeable Turn to every thing he said.
 “If he rally’d his Friends, it was either for some inconsiderable
 “Faults, or, something which, ’twas for their Benefit to make
 “known. He was so extraordinarily Civil; that when he seem’d

“disposed

“ disposed to Jest, the Company was sure he was about to say
“ something to their *Advantage*. He never jested with the
“ natural Infirmities, or Misfortunes of any Persons.

“ He was very charitable to the Poor, except such Persons
“ as were Idle or Prophane, and spent the *Sunday* in the *Ale-*
“ *houses*, and went not to Church. But above all, he did com-
“ passionate those, who after they had labour’d as long as their
“ Strength wou’d hold, were reduced to Poverty. He said it
“ was not enough to keep them from starving, but that such
“ a Provision ought to be made for them, that they might
“ live comfortably. Accordingly he sought occasions of doing
“ Good to those who deserved it; and often when he walked
“ out, he wou’d visit the Poor of the Neighbourhood, and
“ give them somewhat to supply their Necessities, or buy the
“ Remedies which he prescribed them, if they were sick, and
“ had no other Physician. He wou’d not let any useful thing
“ be lost or wasted: He thought that was to destroy those
“ good Things of which God has made us only Stewards: Ac-
“ cordingly he kept good Orders, and took an Account of
“ every Thing.

“ If he was subject to any Passion, ’twas Anger; but he
“ had made himself so much Master of it by Reason, that it was
“ very rarely troublesome to himself or others. No Person
“ cou’d better expose that Passion, or make it appear more ri-
“ diculous than he. He wou’d say, it was of no use either in
“ the educating Children, or keeping Servants in order; but
“ that it did indeed make a Person lose his Authority. He was
“ very kind to his Servants, and would take the trouble to
“ instruct them with a great deal of Mildness, after what man-
“ ner he expected to be served by them.

“ He not only faithfully kept a Secret, that had been trust-
“ ed with him, but wou’d never Report any thing that might
“ prejudice the Person from whom he heard it; tho’ his Si-
“ lence had not been desired. Nor did he ever bring his
“ Friends into any Inconvenience thro’ his inadvertency or
“ want of Discretion.

“ He was very exact to his Word, and religiously perform-
“ ed whatever he promis’d. He was very scrupulous of gi-
“ ving Recommendations of Persons, whom he did not well
“ know; and wou’d by no means commend those, who he
“ thought did not deserve it. If he was told that his Recom-
“ mendations had not produced the Effect expected; he wou’d
“ say,

“ say, *The Reason of that was, because he had never deceived any*
“ *Person, by saying more than he knew; that he never pass’d his*
“ *Word for any, but such as he believ’d wou’d answer the Character*
“ *he gave of ’em; and that if he shou’d do otherwise, his Recom-*
“ *mendations wou’d be worth nothing.*

“ His greatest Diversion was to Discourse with sensible Per-
“ sons, of whose Conversation he was very desirous. He had
“ all the good Qualities, that cou’d render his Friendship plea-
“ sant and agreeable. He wou’d never Game, but out of Com-
“ plaissance. Altho’ being often in Company with those who
“ used it, he cou’d Play very well, if he set about it. But
“ he wou’d never propose it, for he said it was but an Amuse-
“ ment for those who wanted Conversation.

“ His Dress was neat, without either Affectation, or Sin-
“ gularity.

“ He was naturally very Active, and employ’d himself as
“ much as his Health would permit. Sometimes he pleas’d
“ himself with working in a Garden, which he very well un-
“ derstood. He lov’d walking, but not being able to walk
“ much thro’ the disorder of his Lungs, he used to Ride on
“ his Horse after Dinner, and when he cou’d not bare an Horse,
“ in a Calash. He always chose to have Company with him,
“ tho’ it were but a Child, for he took Pleasure in talking with
“ Children of a good Education.

“ The weakness of his Health was a Disturbance to none but
“ himself; and one might look on him without any other con-
“ cern, than that of seeing him suffer. He did not differ from
“ others in his Diet, but only in that his ordinary Drink was
“ nothing but Water; and he thought that was the means of
“ lengthening out his Life to such an Age. Tho’ he was of
“ so weak a Constitution, and that it was to this that he ow’d
“ the Preservation of his Eye-sight, which was but little im-
“ pair’d when he dy’d, for he cou’d read by Candle-light all
“ sorts of Books, if they were not of a very small Print, and
“ he never used Spectacles. He had no other Distemper but
“ his *Asthma*, excepting that four Years before his Death, he
“ was very Deaf: But it did not last above six Months. His
“ deafness depriving him of the Pleasure of Conversation; in
“ a Letter that he then wrote to one of his Friends, he said
“ he did not know but it was better to be Blind than Deaf.
“ Otherwise he bore up under his Afflictions very patiently.

This is a Picture of that great Man, drawn after the Life, and wherein he is not at all flatter'd. I wish it were in my Power, not only to make his Memory, but his Genius immortal, by perswading all Students to search after Truth, to love it, and defend it as he has done. But the reading of his Works will do that better, than all the Praises I can give him, or all the Arguments I can lay before them; and I am also inform'd, That he has left behind him a Discourse of the *Right Method of searching after Truth*: Which will be Publish'd in a little Time. Henry Schelte the Bookseller at *Amsterdam*, will also Publish it in *French*, with his other Posthumous Works.

I shall only adde, That several Books have been father'd on him, of which he was not the Author, and that he has left a Note of those that are his, but bear not his Name, of which we have already spoken. For Instance, they made him the Author of a little *English Treatise of the Love of God*, which was written by a very worthy Person, and for whom he had a very great Esteem.

This Treatise is also Printing in *French* at *Amsterdam*, and will be Sold by the aforesaid Bookseller.

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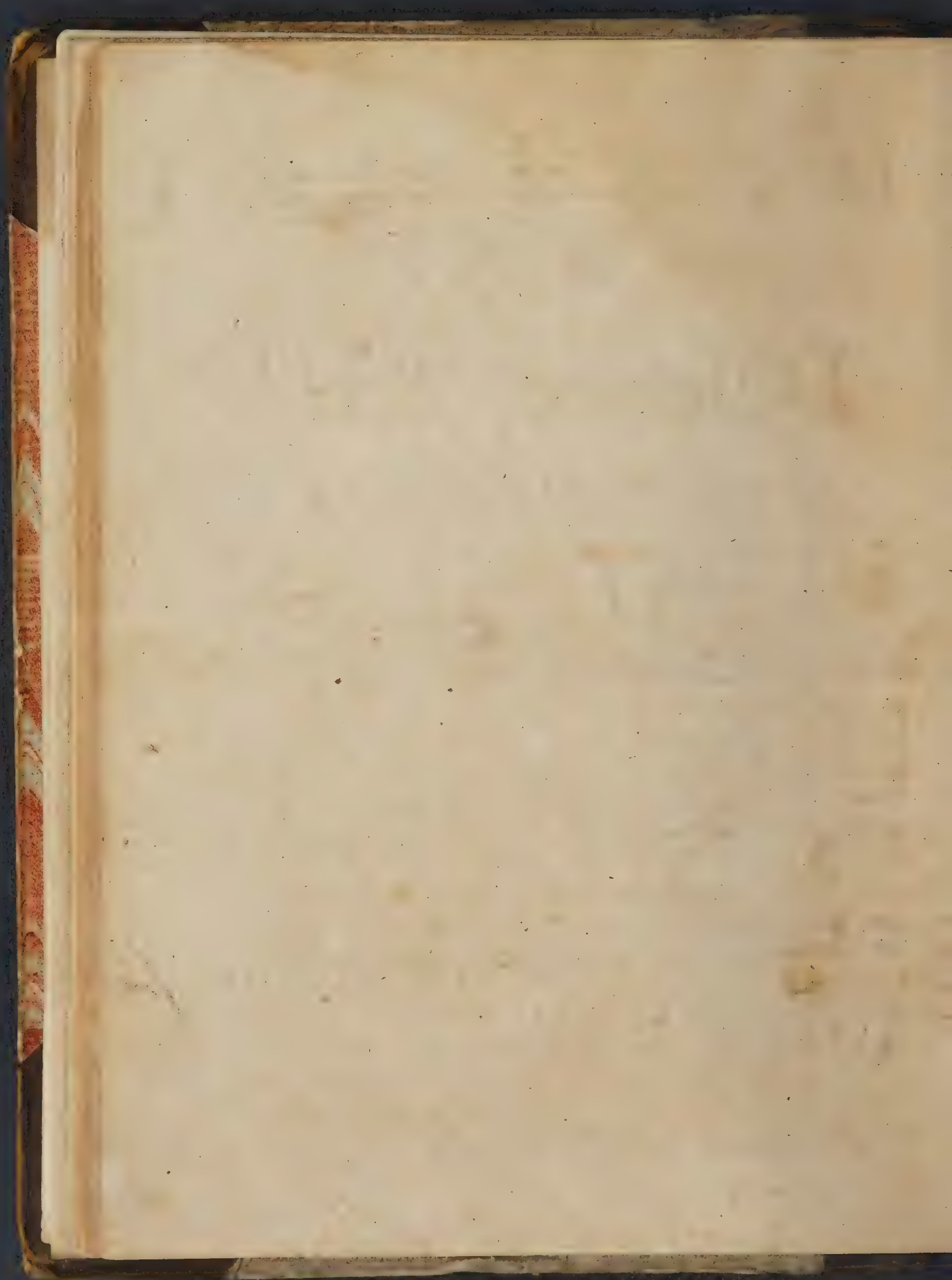
W H I C H T H E
Right Reverend Father in G O D,

J O H N,
(*Lake*)
Late Lord Bishop of CHICHESTER,
Made upon his D E A T H - B E D ;

C O N C E R N I N G
Passive Obedience, and the New Oaths.

T O G E T H E R
With an Account of some Passages of His
Lordship's L I F E.

L O N D O N :
Printed in the Year MDCXC



A

Defence, &c.

S I R,

I Here send you the *Profession* which you have heard that the late *Lord Bishop of Chichester* made a little before his Death ; and perhaps, it may be convenient to give you some short Account of the most remarkable Passages of his Life, to shew by what steps and degrees he arriv'd at that presence and greatness of mind, which appeared so eminent in the latter part of it. For his whole Life was so steady and uniform, that those who knew him well, would scarce have believed that he could leave the World at such a time as this, without giving some considerable Testimony of that Loyalty which he had always practised, and endeavouring to do that further Service to the Church at his Death, which he had resolved to perform, if it had pleased God to grant him a longer Life among us. And when I have given this Relation, and have set down the circumstances of his Lordships reading and signing the *Profession*, it will be time enough afterwards to consider, the very unkind Reflections that have been made upon it, in

a Letter from one who Styles himself a *Person of Quality in the North*, to his Friend in *London*.

I shall begin, Sir, with his Admission in the University, for he had not been long there, before it was his Fortune to become a very early Sufferer for Loyalty. In the 13th year of his Age, he was admitted in *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*, under the Tuition of *Mr. Cleveland*, and he always retained a great Reverence for his Tutors Memory, and a very high regard for that Society: That College being made a Prison for the Royal Party, he could not be exempted from the number, but was kept a Prisoner there, when he was now but Batchelor of Arts; but making his escape from thence, he fled to *Oxford*, and went into the Kings Army, in which he continued four years. He was at *Basing-House* when it was taken, and at *Wallingford*, which was one of the last Garrisons that held out for *K. Charles* the First; and he behaved himself honourably upon all occasions.

After the Death of that excellent Prince, which ought never to be mentioned by *English-men*, but with shame and lamentation, when *K. Charles* the Second was kept out of his Kingdoms, and there were now but little hopes of his return, yet when the Royal Cause was at the lowest, his Lordship refused the *Engagement* with the same Constancy, wherewith he had rejected the *Covenant* before, though it is well known, Sir, what specious Arguments were used for the taking it, and that many were induced to take that, who could never be brought to have any tolerable thoughts of the *Covenant*. Before the Restoration, he entred into Episcopal Orders, when it was made a Crime to do so, and when many forsook the Church as quite ruined and lost, after the Defender of
our

our Faith was barbarously Murthered, and his Children, in their tender years, were driven by such as called themselves Protestants, into Popish Countries, and exposed to the hazard of seeking a worse Religion with better usage; from whence we must date all our dangers of *Popery* and *Slavery*. It was at that very time, I say, Sir, that the good Bishop of whom I am now Writing, was ordained a Priest of the Church of *England*. So far, he always was from judging of things by the success.

Soon after the Kings return, he was presented to the Vicarage of *Leeds*, in *Torkshire*; and his Induction was violently opposed for no other Reason, but his known Loyalty. But he was not long to stay at *Leeds*, tho they had now learned to put a juster value upon the Happiness they enjoyed in him, for being appointed to Preach the first *Synod-Sermon* at *Tork*, after the Restauration, he did it with so great applause, that *Dr. Hitch* (afterwards Dean of *Tork*) desired a Copy of that Sermon, and without his Knowledge shew'd it to *Dr. Sheldon*, then Lord Bishop of *London*, who soon after sent for him, and removed him to *St. Botolphs*, in *Bishopsgate-street*. That Wise Prelate knew how fit a choice he had made, to give an example of *Uniformity* to the City at that juncture; for his Lordship was then as strict himself in observing the Canons and Rubricks, as he was afterwards careful that others should observe them. He could never fancy any *Dispensing Power* in himself, nor could think any thing *little* or *formal*, where his own Duty, and the Order and Decency of Gods Worship was concerned.

Here, Sir, I must not omit that which his Lordship always valued as the principal Honour and
Felicity

Felicity of his Life; I mean, his Friendship with His Grace my Lord Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. His Grace was Dean of *St. Pauls*, and his Lordship, I think, Rector of *St. Botolphs*, when he happened to be in waiting at Court in his Graces month; and from that beginning of their acquaintance, my Lord Arch-bishop had ever a high esteem for him, and received him into his particular favour and affection.

About eight years after he removed to *Tork*, and was Residentiary of that Cathedral Church, and perhaps, never any Residentiary was more useful and beneficial to that Church, either in asserting the Liberties, and recovering the Rights of it, and in managing and securing the Revenue, or in maintaining Order and Decency there. I shall give you but one instance, Sir, which will shew both his Zeal for Gods Honour, and his Courage in defending it.

There was an ill Custom at *Tork*, of walking in the Body of the Cathedral, during the time of Divine Service, and the common sort of people would oftentimes be rude and loud, so as to disturb, and almost interrupt the Service. His Lordship had, from the beginning, resolved to break this custom; and it happened one *Shrove-Tuesday*, that the noise was more than ordinary, and the numbers greater, insomuch that he could no longer refrain himself, but went down to them from his Seat in the Quire, and with his own Hand, plucked off some of their Hats, and spoke to them either to come with him, and join in the Worlhip of God, or to go out of the Church. They were all daunted, and without much disturbance went out; yet the *Vergers* had no sooner shut the Doors, but they pressed so hard upon the *South Door*, that they broke the Iron Bar which fastened it, and forced

forced it open, and as is usual with a Rabble, they heated and animated one another into Rage and Madness, and when he came out of the Church, followed him home in a tumultuous and furious manner, with reviling and threatening Language, and had undoubtedly done him some mischief, if his Gravity and Courage had not over-awed them; but then growing still more Insolent and Outragious, they plucked up the Rails before the *Deanery*, and his House, and beat down the Wall in diverse places, and had taken off a great deal of the Tiling, and would most certainly have Plundered the House, and in all probability would have demolish'd it, and have killed him, if in that instant of time, Captain *Honywood*, who was then Deputy-Governour, had not come with some Soldiers to his Rescue.

All this while not one indecent ~~and~~^{not} timorous word escaped him, but when he was desired to withdraw into a Neighbouring House, his Lordship refused to do it, saying, *That he was in a good Cause, and upon his own Ground, and if they would have his Life, he could not help it, Gods Will be done, but he would endanger no body else.* His whole Behaviour in this dangerous accident was much admired, and a peculiar Providence seems to have been his Protection in it, for though Bricks and Stones, and whatever else could be found, were thrown in at him, yet it pleased God, that nothing hit him. He was forced to keep a Guard in his House a good while after, for they threatned to burn it; and my Lord Mayor was as great a Friend to the Rabble as some Magistrates have been since, and refused to give him any assistance.

I have been the more particular in this business, that I might pay a just acknowledgement to the Memory

mory of that Worthy Gentleman, who Rescued him from such imminent danger : But I have concealed the Name of a Man, whose carriage was so unsuitable to the Trust and Honour of his Place.

The driving the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple, was, in *St. Hierom's* opinion, the greatest Miracle that our Saviour ever did, and though there was nothing Miraculous in this Action of the late Bishop, yet thus much must be acknowledged, That it was a manifest argument of a true Christian Courage, and conformable to the Example of Christ himself.

He was then but lately come to *Tork*, and afterwards no man was more beloved than His Lordship, and I believe, he is no where more lamented than in that City, for both the City and Conntry have expressed as great a sorrow for his Death, as they did a desire before, that he might fill the Vacancy of the Archbishoprick.

But to pursue, Sir, in few words, the remaining course of his Lordships Life. He was nominated, by the Right Honourable the E. of *Derby*, to the Bishoprick of *Man*, and from thence translated by *K. Charles* the Second, to the Bishoprick of *Bristol*: and now my Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, considering and highly approving his affectionate vigilant care over his own Clergy, and his whole Diocess, and his wisdom and vigour in administering the Discipline of the Church, chose him out as one most fit to be intrusted with a Commission, to visit the Diocess of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*.

In the time of *Monmouth's* Rebellion, his Lordship being in *London* at the Parliament, the K. considered that the presence of a Bishop, whom he could so entirely confide in, and who was so well beloved and esteem-
ed

ed in his Diocess, would be infinitely serviceable to him, in so important a place as *Bristol*, the better to keep that City, and the adjacent Country, in their Duty. His Lordship, as soon as he had notice of His Majesties Pleasure, went down thither with all readiness, though he was then so much indisposed with the Gout, that he was carry'd into his Coach. In this painful and dangerous Journey, he very narrowly escaped the Rebels ; but he hastened down, to meet new and worse dangers there. And the K. was so well satisfy'd with his Behaviour and Conduct, in so seasonable and singular an instance of Obedience, that he took the first opportunity of shewing him some mark of his Favour ; and before his return from *Bristol*, nominated him for the Bishoprick of *Chichester*.

Some time after, he held another Archiepiscopal Visitation at *Salisbury*, with the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and other Commissioners ; concerning which, I shall crave leave to use my Lord Bishop of *Rocheſter*'s words, in his first Letter to my Lord Chamberlain, and shall only say, *That by Gods Blessing they composed several old differences and animosities, and restored Peace and Unity to that Church.*

The following part of his Lordship's Life, is so well known to you, Sir, and to the whole Nation besides, that it will be needless to give any account of it. I need only mention, that his Lordship was one of the Seven Bishops, who by their Christian Courage and Patience, disarm'd the Rage of our Popish Adversaries, in the height of their Pride and Triumph. Nothing greater can be said, than that he was of their number, and that after he had prevented the sending down of the Declarations into his own Diocess, he came in great haste to *London*, and joined himself to the rest of my

Lords the Bishops, and had his share in the whole management of an affair, as honourable as, perhaps, any thing that has been done in any Age.

He had afterwards a very worthy part in those applications the Bishops made to His Majesty a little before the Revolution, when they interpos'd themselves, as it were, between the K. and his People, and with all the humility and submission of Subjects, and yet with all the freedom and courage which was necessary to the Preservation of three Kingdoms, offered that advice in which nothing was wanting that could have made those Nations happy, if it had been sooner taken. It must not be omitted that in the Convention he shew'd a fearless Honesty, spoke often, and always like himself. He never gave one Vote but what was agreeable to his former practice, and has left his unchangeable Loyalty upon Record in his *Protestation*.

From the whole course of His Lordship's Life, it is evident that he was most willing to hazard all but his Salvation, for the Interest of the Protestant Religion, and the Safety of the Nation; which has made me often wonder to see, how angry some Men can be at those, who will not be perswaded to take an Oath against their Consciences, as if they had not that Zeal for the Protestant Religion, which such Men would be thought to have. More Candor and Charity, one would think, might be expected from them to their Fellow-Sufferer; nay, to those who suffered for them.

His Lordship discoursed frequently, concerning the Oath, with several Learned Men, and particularly, held correspondence by Letters, with an Eminent Divine who endeavoured to prove to him the Lawfulness

ness of it. His Lordship received his last Letter a little before his Death, and could answer it only by a contrary *Profession*.

That awful sense, indeed, which he ever had of the Divine Majesty, made him very impartial in considering the force and obligation of his former Oaths, which he had often taken (as most Clergy-men have) and he could not but abhor the thoughts of taking that, which he believed to be a contrary Oath. He considered, that the Day of *Death*, and of *Judgment*, are as certain as the 1st of *August*, and the 1st of *February*, and acted accordingly.

This is not said, Sir, to cast any reproach upon those whose Consciences can allow them to take the New Oath : No, it would ill become me to make the least Reflection upon others, when I am describing a Life so eminent for Charity ; and you know, Sir, what great respect and esteem His Lordship had for very many of them. But this I only say, that he acted with the same Resolution of mind all along in this matter, as if he could have foreseen that he should not long survive his *Suspension* ; whereas no Man, perhaps, of his years, could have more Reason than His Lordship, to expect yet a much longer life, for he had none of the usual Infirmities of a declining Age, except only a Fit or two, very seldom, of the Gout. He had the full enjoyment of all his Faculties both of Body and Mind, till his last illness, which seiz'd him with a sudden trembling, and a malignant Fever, with Convulsions, in ten days time took him away from us. In his younger years he languished under a long Indisposition, and was reduced to a very weak condition by a *Hedtick Fever* ; to which he was thought naturally inclined, his Mother having dy'd

of that distemper. But after he had once overcome that, he attained to a settled state of Health, which by a Life every way strictly regular, and an exact Moderation in all things, was continued to him till his last sickness; and he never seem'd either to himself, or others, to be in better health, than on that very day on which he fell sick: And during that short, but very severe sickness, he had a vigorous strength of Body, and the perfect use of his Reason, until the day before he dy'd, yet from the beginning there was small hope of his Recovery, and the Symptoms daily grew worse and worse.

It was on *Tuesday, August 27.* between seven and eight in the Morning, that he spoke to Mr. *Jenkin* his Chaplain, to come and write by him, and his Lordship dictated to him the Recognition and Profession following.

Being called by a sick, and I think a dying Bed, and the good Hand of God upon me in it, to take the last and best Viaticum, the Sacrament of my dear Lords Body and Blood, I take my self obliged to make this short Recognition and Profession.

That whereas I was Baptized into the Religion of the Church of England, and sucked it in with my Milk, I have constantly adhered to it through the whole course of my Life, and now, if so be the Will of God, shall dye in it; and I had resolved, through Gods Grace assisting me,

me, to have dy'd so, though at a Stake.

And whereas that Religion of the Church of England, taught me the Doctrine of Non-Resistance and Passive Obedience, which I have accordingly inculcated upon others, and which I took to be the distinguishing Character of the Church of England, I adhere no less firmly and stedfastly to that, and in consequence of it, have incurred a Suspension from the Exercise of my Office, and expected a Deprivation. I find in so doing much inward satisfaction, and if the Oath had been tendred at the Peril of my Life, I could only have obey'd by Suffering.

I desire you, my Worthy Friends and Brethren, to bear Witnes of this upon occasion, and to believe it as the Words of a dying Man, and who is now engaged in the most Sacred and Solemn Act of Conversing with God in this World, and may, for ought he knows, to the contrary appear with these very Words in his Mouth, at the dreadful Tribunal.

^P
Manu propria subscripsi,

Johannes Cicestrensis.

This

This Profession was Read, and Subscribed by the Bishop, in the presence of

Dr. *Green*, the Parish-Minister, who administred.

Dr. *Hicks*, Dean of *Worcester*.

Mr. *Jenkin*, his Lordships Chaplain.

Mr. *Powell*, his Secretary.

Mr. *Wilson*, his Amanuensis ; who all communicated with him.

You see, Sir, His Lordship had a certain Prospect of Death, and looked upon himself as a dying Man, when he made this *Profession*, and scarce expected to finish the reading of it, but apprehended that he might probably be seized upon by Death, and called before the *dreadful Tribunal*, before he could utter *these words*.

As soon as his Chaplain had Written it, His Lordship ordered him to read it over to him, which he did, and then the Bishop read it over himself, in a distinct and audible Voice, and it was afterwards transcribed by his Amanuensis, and then at the Celebration of the Holy Communion, was again audibly and distinctly read over by his Lordship, and subscribed by him immediately before his receiving the same. When the Communion was over, he called to Mr. *Powell* his Secretary, and ordered him to make an *Act* of it: The Lord Bishop of *Norwich* coming to visit him soon after, His Lordship pray'd him to look over the Paper, and then desired the Dean of *Worcester* to carry it with him to *Lambeth*, and discoursed of it to my Lord Bishop of *Ely*, who that evening made him a visit ; so that nothing perhaps, in all its circumstances, was ever more solemnly and deliberately done.

Now

Now it is not easie to imagine what exceptions can be made against a *Profession*, which carries with it such evident proofs of a truly Charitable and Primitive Spirit: Yet the *Person of Quality in the North* you see, Sir, is much offended at it, and has been pleased to Print a Letter full of angry *Objections* against it. It seems his *just Tribute of sorrow for Bishop Lake's Death* was soon paid, that he could at *this time of day* be at leisure to pay another sort of *Tribute to his Friend in London*, of a different Passion. His Civility and due respect for the memory of the late Reverend Bishop, I should with all thankfulness most readily acknowledge, if I could think it not designed, with the better Grace and more Ceremony, to cast a Blemish upon one of the last and most solemn Acts of his Life.

He rightly observes that his Lordship was sufficiently distinguished, and his fame secured to all Posterity, in that he was one of the Seven Bishops, whose Courage and Constancy will remain upon Record until Time shall be no more. But how his being a great Maintainer and Assertor of the Protestant Religion, and the English Liberties, is inconsistent with his being a great Champion, as he calls it, for Passive Obedience, I cannot understand. I can assure him none of Bishop Lake's Friends ever thought one of those two honourable Characters would obscure the other, but that they never could be so entire and truly honourable, as when they are together.

What the design must be of publishing the Paper, doth not at all concern his Friends, who had no Hand in it, but that His Lordship had a great and good Design in making that *Profession* before he left the World, I imagined had been very obvious to Persons of less Rank and Quality, than this Gentleman would be thought to be of. The

The Reasons for the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, all men of Reason, methinks, should know, could not be contained in so small a compass, and are not well consistent with the design of a *Profession*, which should be short, in full, and expressive terms; and of this nature are all the *Professions*, which the Bishops of Old used to send one to another, at the first Promotion to their Sees. This was all they did in their perfect health, and to expect a long Series of Reasons and Arguments, of Objections and Answers, from a Man upon his Death-Bed, is next to expecting that *one should arise from the Dead* to convince us. Rather let us hearken to *Moses and the Prophets*, to *St. Peter and St. Paul*; let us read *Romans 13.* and *1 Pet. 2.* with the best Commentators upon them; let us read the Works of our own Divines, who to their honour have been wanting to no Subject, and as little to this as any. I suppose he is very well satisfy'd with the *Creed*, though it contain no Arguments, and this being a *Profession* of Practical Doctrine, as that is of Faith, he had as little Reason to expect Arguments here: And this he confesses himself in effect, when he thinks he can take any advantage by it; why else does he say, *That in his Opinion, it would more have become His Lordship, if, as the Office for the Sick directs, he had made a Confession of the Christian Faith, contain'd in the Apostles Creed?* But do not Athiests and Hereticks expect Reasons of us for our Christian Faith? And then the Profession of that too, must have been really impertinent, because He had certainly given the World as convincing proofs of his Opinion before. If I might be so bold, Sir, I would venture to say, that in my Opinion it would have more become the Person of Quality to have spared this Reflection; for he that professes

professes he dyes in the Religion of the Church of England, professes I hope sufficiently that he believes the *Christian Faith contained in the Apostles Creed*. Yes, says the Letter, *unquestionably he believed it*, and I can assure him he as *unquestionably* professed it: and as the Office for the Visitation of the Sick directs, declared, that he *stedfastly believed* all the Articles of it. For his Lordship, who was always so strict and punctual to the Canons of the Church, would have no part of the Office omitted.

But he had *submitted to a Suspension*, and had certainly given the World as convincing proof of his Opinion, as if he had printed a thousand Volumes about it. And some have written so many Volumes, that it was thought they had given the World convincing proofs enough of their Opinion, tho they have not ~~not~~ submitted to a Suspension. But there are those who would perswade the World, that the Case of the Bishops is very different from the rest of the Clergy, and would make it a point of Honour in them, rather than of Conscience. His Lordship therefore declares that he had incurred a Suspension *in consequence* of the Doctrine of Passive Obedience. And that as he had *inculcated it upon others*, so he thought himself obliged to practise it upon this and all other occasions. He now only declares what he before so often taught, to testify to the World that he was still of the same mind, that he found no reason to change his Judgment; that no Ambition or worldly Interest had tempted him to preach this Doctrine; but that he was ready to forfeit all, even Life it self, rather than contradict or abandon it: That what he had professed before the World, he was not afraid now to dye in the profession of; and to profess it before God in the

most solemn act of conversing with him in this World, and when he every moment expected to be summoned to appear before him in the next.

These, Sir, are I think very weighty and obvious Reasons why the Bishop should make that *Profession*: and he had as good reason to mention his being *bred and born* in it: For tho this be an Argument that a *Turk or Pagan*, or, as he afterwards observes, a *Papist* may use for his Religion as well as we, yet it is so far upon that account from being an improper Argument, that it would indeed be a reproach to our Religion, if we might not be allow'd to use an Argument in its behalf, which has its weight in every Religion besides. The late Bishop said but the same thing in effect that the Primitive Bishop *S. Polycarp*, one that was Disciple to the Apostles, and constituted Bishop by them, had said before in other words, and to another purpose: Who, when at his Martyrdom, he was offered his Life if he would revile our Saviour, answered, *That he had served him now 86 years, and he never did me, says he, any injury, and how can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour.* This was thought so considerable as to be recorded in Ecclesiastical History, and delivered down to Posterity, tho, I suppose, it can be no more imagined that Christians only lived then to 86 years of Age, than that only Men of the Church of *England* now are *bred and born* in their Religion.

You see, Sir, how conspicuous all the true marks of a Primitive Piety are in this *Profession*; but his Lordship had not that only reason to say that he was educated in this Doctrine, and was resolved never to abjure or renounce it, tho it were at the peril of his Life; because after so long experience he could discern no ill in it, but thought it Orthodox, he had this further

Rea-

Euseb. Hist.

Eccl. 4. 15.

Act. 17

Reason to say it, He had lived to hear it affirmed that *Passive Obedience* is a Doctrine of but 40 or 50 years standing, and his Testimony alone being sufficient to confute that Error, it was most proper and requisite for him to aver, that he was educated in this Doctrine; and that it was not only as old as he could remember, who was now 65 years of Age, but that he was taught it as an ancient Doctrine, and always lookt upon it to be of the same Antiquity among us, with the Reformation it self, and part of that Primitive Doctrine which was then revived and established in the Church of *England*. This, Sir, was the way of maintaining the Truth of Old, by pleading against Hereticks, and if some Men in our days, take the confidence to say that so material a Doctrine is but of 40 or 50 years date, shall it be cavill'd at, if a Reverend and Learned Bishop declares that to his own certain knowledge it is ancients than so, and that he received it from his Childhood, as the constant Doctrine of the Church of *England*, from the time of the Reformation?

And the Truth is, this is what most offends the Person of *Quality*: He says, *That two Inferences may very easily be made from that Paper, which he suspects were the chief aim in Publishing. The first is to insinuate, that from the beginning of the Reformation, ever since the Church of England was restored to its Purity, Passive Obedience was the Corner-stone of it. Whatever his meaning may be in calling it the Corner-stone, I must tell him plainly, that Passive Obedience has been ever the Doctrine of the Church of England. And when he says afterwards, so that it seems none were accounted her true Sons, that did not hold it; if he means that none besides were accounted to hold her Doctrine*

Passive

whole and entire, or to hold all the Truths which she teaches, the design of the Paper is to assert it too.

But he proceeds to argue, *Now if this be true, here's the whole Body of the Clergy in Q. Elizabeth's days cut off from the Church of England at one blow: For 'tis not the Opinion of one or two private Prelates, but the whole Convocation, who agree not only in giving the Queen so very large Subsidies, but also in declaring the Accounts on which they did it, and that was, Assisting and Protecting the Scottish and French Protestants, and for abating all Hostilities against the true Professors of Gods holy Gospel, and for advancing the free profession of the Gospel, within and without Her Majesties Dominions; and a great deal more to this purpose, as may be seen at large in the Preambles to the three Subsidy Bills, given 5 Eliz. c. 24. 35 Eliz. c. 12. and the 43 Eliz. c. 17. so that 'tis apparent it was their practice for 40 years, and he hopes their faith also; for he cannot be so uncharitable as to think they would sin against their Conscience, and purchase Damnation at so dear a rate, as those vast summs they gave for the assistance of those, that he is sure did resist their Kings, and who according to the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, ought to have been looked upon, and used as Rebels.*

In answer to this I shall prove two things, 1. That *Q. Elizabeth* did not assist either the *Scottish* or *French* in any Rebellion, but always declared the contrary. 2. That it was the Doctrine of the *Church of England*, at that time, that it is unlawful for Subjects to resist, and that therefore our Divines justify'd the *French* and *Scotch*, no otherwise than upon Principles which are consistent with this Doctrine.

1. *Q Elizabeth* did not assist either the *Scottish* or *French* in any Rebellion, but always declared the contrary. But here I must premise, 1. That for Sovereign Princes in War, to serve themselves of the Treachery and Revolt of another Princes Subjects, is no more than what is always done, and is by the Law of Nations held lawful, and the necessity of Affairs seems to require it. If this be thought contrary to the ordinary Rules of Justice, it must be reckoned among those Instances which Bishop *Sander- Case of a Military Life, Confid. 4. N. 2.* son brings to shew that *Justitia Politica* and *Justitia privata* have not in all the same adequate measure; and that it is not necessary that the Rules of Justice, whereby the Councils and Actions of Princes and States, in their mutual Relations, are to be measured, should be precisely the same with those which measure the dealings of private Men one with another. The Law of Nations being the same to Princes in their Transactions with one another, that the Law of each Country is to Subjects; and therefore it can be no good consequence that Subjects may Rebel, because Foreign Princes may take advantage by their Rebellion, to recover their own Rights, or to secure their Dominions: For if the Law of Nations allow the one, the Laws of every Country do certainly forbid the other. 2. That it is Lawful for Princes to make the best terms they can for Subjects, who have been serviceable to their Interest in a Just War, though by Rebellion against their own Prince. And if this opportunity be taken to advance the true Religion, and to deliver the People from Persecution, when no injury is done all this while to the Prince himself, this is not to protect Rebels, but to prosecute their own Rights, and to promote the Interest of Religion, by bringing good, as it were, out of evil; and

and this is all which it can be pretended *Q. Elizabeth* ever did

*Camden Part 1.
An. 1559. p. 31.
Edit. Amstel.*

*Hist. Fran. An.
1559 & 1562. vid.
Stow, p. 641.*

Upon *Q. Mary's* Death, and *Q. Elizabeth's* first Accession to the ~~the~~ *Crown*, the *Q. of Scots* Quartered the Arms of *England* with her own ; and she, and in her Right, her Husband the *Dauphin of France*, assumed to themselves the Stile and Title of King and Queen of *England*, which had brought a dangerous War upon *England*, both from *France* and *Scotland*, if the Death of the King of *France*, *Henry II.* had not prevented it. *Mezeray* says expressly, that the supply of 3000 Men, commanded by *La Brosse a Bourbonois*, which was sent into *Scotland*, had Orders, *Whel they should have subdued the Rebels, to March direct y into England, and conquer that, with the assistance of the Catholicks, for the benefit of Q. Mary, who pretended she was Heiress thereof, and had already taken the Arms into her Coat : And he says, it was upon Information of this that Queen Elizabeth furnished the Rebels with 1200 Men, and those together in one Body, besieged the Port of Leith. And Queen Elizabeth by her Treaty with the Confederate Lords, was only to assist them, in driving the French out of Scotland, after which they were still to continue in their Obedience to their Natural Queen ; and before they besieged Leith, the Lords sent and offered to the Queen Regent, that if she would send away the French Forces, the English should likewise be sent back, and they would return to their Obedience : And afterwards it was by Q. Elizabeth's Mediation, that a Peace was concluded. Burnet's Hist. Ref. Part 2. Book 3. An. 1559. p. 412, 413. But though the year after a Peace was concluded at *Edinburgh* between the three Crowns, yet *Francis the Second, and Mary Queen of Scots*, refused to ratifie it ; nor would*

*Camden ibid. p.
44. 51.*

would she be perswaded to ratify it' after her
Husbands Death, which happened the same year.
One Article of which Treaty was, That they should
no longer assume the Title and Arms of *England*; and
it was by agreement to have been sworn to within 60
days.

An. 1560. Cam-
den ib. p. 55.

Id. ibid. p. 44.

In the mean time, the Commotions in *France*, in
the Minority of *Charles IX.* between the Princes of
the Popish, and the Reformed Religion, soon spread
the infection hither, and *Arthur Pool* and his Brother,
Great Grand-children to *George D. of Clarence*, Bro-
ther to *Edw. IV.* and *Anthony Fortescue*, who had
Married their Sister, with others, were accused of
conspiring to withdraw themselves into *France*, upon
a design formed of Landing an Army from thence in
Wales, there to Proclaim the Queen of Scots Queen
of *England*, and to declare *Arthur Pool D. of Clarence*;
all this they confessed at their Tryal, only they pro-
tested they had no design to do it, during the Life of
Q. Eliz. but had credited some who pretended to fore-
tel that she should not outlive that year. Her Majesty
had afterwards advice, that the *Guises*, to bring over
Anthony King of Navarr to their party, had offered
him his own Kingdom of *Navarr*, and to give him
England as a Dowry in Marriage with the Q of Scots:
and the Pope was to dissolve his former Marriage with
Jane d'Albret his Queen, upon pretence of Heresie,
and to depose *Q. Eliz.* and towards the performance
of all this the *Spaniard* was to furnish Money: Her
Majesty sent over Sir *Henry Sidney* her Ambassadour
to know the certainty of this, and to endeavour a Re-
concilement between the two Factions; but this proving
in vain, she had designed another Embassy for the
same purpose, when in the mean time several of our
Mer-

Camden. an.
1562. p. 66, 67.

Vid. Mezeray
Charles IX. an.
1561. p. 678.

Camden ibid.
p. 69.

Holinshed an:
1562. p. 1195.

Merchant Ships were seized in the Ports of *Bretagne* by publick Order, our *Merchants* imprisoned, and their goods confiscated; and some were killed in standing upon their defence, and the rest found no redress upon complaint: And the Ambassadors Letters directed to her Majesty were intercepted.

Camden *ibid.* p.
72. & Stow's
Chronicle, p.
648, &c.

The Queen therefore fearing lest a Descent should be made upon *England* from *Normandy*, enters into a League with the Prince of *Conde* and his party; and the very same day publisheth her Declaration, directed joyntly to the *English* and *French*; and setting forth that her design was not to recover that Province which of right belonged to the Crown of *England*, but to preserve it to the King of *France* now under age; and to defend it from the Tyranny of the *Guises*, who besides their Cruelty to the Protestants, did injuriously keep *Calais* from her, and were now endeavouring to seize upon the Ports of *Normandy*, from thence to land in *England*, which they reckoned already their own. So that she was necessitated to take these measures, unless she would be wanting to the young King her Brother and Confederate, and to the Peace of Christendom, and would raimely betray both her Religion and her Life it self: And not content with this, in a point wherein she was always so jealous of her Honour, she afterwards caused a larger Account, of the reasons of her proceedings to be published, tho not in her own Name.

Thuanus Hist.
Tom. 2. lib. 33.
p. 194. B.

This happened in the fourth year of her Reign, and for the carrying on this War it was that the Clergy gave her the Subsidy the year following; and in the Act use these words, which are thought to be so much in favour of Resistance: And finally, pondering the inestimable charges sustained by your Highness as well

well of late days, in reducing the Realm of Scotland to Unity and Concord; as also in procuring as much as in Your Highness lyeth, by all kind of godly and prudent means, the abating of all Hostility and Persecution within the Realm of France, practised and used against the Professors of Gods holy Gospel and true Religion, and in defending and preserving this your Highnesses Realm and Natural Subjects, in Christian Peace and Tranquillity, against all assaults of Foreign Enemies, hitherto during all the time of Your Majesties Gracious and Happy Reign, From all that has been said of the former years of her Reign, I suppose it will be allowed that the Queen had a Just Cause of War, both with Scotland and France, and that she did not defend Rebellious Subjects, but maintain her own Rights, and if she reduced the Realm of Scotland to Unity and Concord, and procured as much as in her lay, by all kind of godly and prudent means, the abating of all Hostility and Persecution within the Realm of France, I think her Clergy had great cause to thank her for it, and so had both Scotland and France too. 'Twere strange if it should be unlawful for Her Majesty to procure Unity and Concord, and to abate Hostility and Persecution, where she had Just provocation to bring Fire and Sword; and nothing could be more to her praise, nor deserve higher expressions of gratitude from the Clergy, than this, That she made Religion so much her Care, and omitted no opportunity of promoting the Interests of it

This may suffice to be said of this Subsidy, and when the other Subsidy Acts were passed, Her Majesty defended the best Cause in the World, as shall be shewn hereafter; in the mean time I shall beg your patience, Sir, while I shew that the Queen always

D

declared

declared against any Protection of Subjects in their *Resistance*, which she always called *Rebellion*.

As soon as Queen *Elizabeth* had certain Intelligence

(a) Quam primum hæc certis nuntiis *Elizabetha* comperrisset, detestata ex animo hanc effrænem in Principem fororem & vicinam subditorum insolentiam, (quos perfidos, rebelles, ingratos & crudeles subinde appellavit) misit *Nicolaum Throgmortonum* in *Scotiam*, ut apud *Confederatos* de hac in *Reginam* insolentiâ expostularet, *McC. Camden Part 1. An. 1567. p. 119.*

of the Imprisonment of the Q. of Scots, (a) *detesting from her Soul this unruly insolence of Subjects, against a Princess her Sister and Neighbour.* (which Subjects she upon all occasions term'd *Perfidious, Rebellious, Ungrateful and Cruel*) she sends *Sir Nicholas Throgmorton* to expostulate with the *Confederates* concerning this *Insolence towards their Queen*, and to take some course that she might be restored

to her former Liberty and Authority ; that the Murderers of the King might be punished, and the young Prince might be sent into *England* for his safety, and not into *France*. Mr. *Camden* says, That he took the Relation which he gives of this affair, from *Sir Nic. Throgmorton's* own Letters, and from them he relates, (b) That *Sir Nicholas* defended the Authority of

(b) *Reginam* nullius iudicio præterquam coelestis Iudicis subiacere : pro nullius Tribunali in Terris posse fisci : nullam esse Magistratus auctoritatem in *Scotiâ*, quæ a *Reginæ* auctoritate non est delegata, & ab ipsâ revocabilis. *Ibid. p. 120.*

the higher Powers from Scripture, against *Knox* and other violent Preachers ; he argued, That the Queen was ~~not~~ accountable before no Judicature but that of Heaven, that she could be brought before no Tribunal upon Earth, that no Magistrate had any Authority in Scotland, which was not derived from the Queens Authority, and might

be revoked by her.

When the Queen of Scots, was through fear of Death forced to a Resignation, she immediately certifies the Queen of England, by *Sir Nicholas Throgmorton*, that it was extorted from her in Prison, and that she had done it by his advice, who had before assured her, that

that it was a void Act. This shews the confidence the Queen of Scots then had in *Q. Elizabeth*, and whatever hard measure she may be supposed to have met with here, yet this must be acknowledged, and it appears even from *Melville's Memoirs*, that *Queen Elizabeth* all along openly favoured her Cause against her Subjects that were in Rebellion, and when she suffered some of them to take shelter in *England*, the Historian makes this remark upon it, That it was because the Queen of Scots received *Oneal*, and some *English* Rebels, into her Protection; and some design between her and the Pope was then in agitation against *England*, and she had besides refused to do the Queen Justice upon certain Robbers and Pirates. But *Queen Elizabeth*, he says, (c) from her Soul abhorred the insolence of the Scots in abdicating their Queen, (d) and used her earnest endeavours to restore her to the Throne, or if that could not be, to procure her as good terms as she could.

But (e) while the Queen and her Council intended to use the Queen of Scots well, her own officious Friends, by the frequent Plots that were in a succession of many years carried on, sometimes by open Rebellion, as in the North of England, and in Ireland, but more frequently by secret attempts, brought on her the calamities of a long Imprisonment, and Death in the Conclusion. But *Q. Eliz.* in a treaty with the King of France, at a time when she most withstood the return of the *Q. of Scots* into Scotland, to be restored to her Kingdom, even then she used these words, to the French

Vid. Thuan.
Hist. lib. 50.
An. 1571. p.
769. D. & p.
772. E.
Camb. lib. p. 96.

(c) Elizabethâ Scotorum insolentiam in abdicandâ Reginâ ex animo averfante. Camden. ibid. p. 153.

(d) Adeo ut Elizabetha cum Moravio aliisq; Scotis per Woodum, qui ab Epistolis Moravio, maxime peregerit, de eâ in pristinam regiam dignitatem restituendâ. Ibid. p. 166. vide Spotiswood's Hist. An. 1569. B. 5. p. 230

(e) Burnet. Reform. Part 2. Book 3. p. 417.

Ambassadours, *The Example of abdicating Princes is indeed pernicious, and to be condemned*

Abdicandi Principes exemplum sane perniciosum est, & infra inferos amandandum. Sed hac de re responderint Scoti, ego quidem invita hæc recolo, quæ ex animo improbo. *Camden part. 2. an. 1572. p. 246.*

Orationes nisi ipsissimas, vel in pauciora redactas non admiscui, multo minus finxi. *Id. Præfat.*

to the lowest pit of Hell; but let the Scots answer for that, I do unwillingly mention it, and from my Soul disapprove of it. I have reason to call these the Queens own words, since Mr. Camden in his Preface declares, That he never sets down any Speeches, which are not the very same that were spoken,

or at least only drawn into a narrower compass; he never feigns any.

When afterwards her Majesty was intreated by Ambassadours purposely sent from the *Low Countrys*, to take *Holland* and *Zealand* into her possession, or at least into her Protection, she returned them this Answer, *That it did not appear to her, how she could in Honour, or with a good Conscience, take those Provinces into her Protection, much less into her Possession: And*

Id. an. 1576. p. 291. Elizabetha vero ad quam Albinus missus fuerat veritate aliorum ope destituti Belgæ, ex desperatione foedus nobiscum iicerent, seque & res suas Francis committerent, eos pecuniâ juvit, XL aureorum CIO mutuò datis, pluraque insuper promisit, monuitq; ut interim in Philippi fide manerent; brevique Hispanos Belgio dimissum iri sperarent. *Thuan. Hist. Tom. 3. lib. 62. p. 154. D.*

when she supply'd them with Money, it was on condition, that they should neither change their Religion, nor cast off their Prince, nor receive the French into Holland, nor refuse any reasonable terms of Peace, which Don John of Austria should offer: For being now afraid that Holland should fall off to the French, she was as Camden says, so desirous of

retaining those Provinces in their Duty to the King of Spain, that she omitted no occasion of doing him kind offices, and of preserving Peace.

At last, when after many provocations and acts of Hostility,

Hostility, her Majesty entred into a League with the
 States, she immediately dispatched Mr. *Wilks* to the King
 of *Spain*, to give him her Reasons for so doing, that
 there might lye no aspersion upon her, as if she had
 fomented a *Rebellion*; "And since ill men, whose bu-
 "siness it is to make discord among Princes, had en-
 "deavoured injuriously to defame her, as if she had
 "promoted the War in *Holland*, she makes it her Re-
 "quest to the King and the Governours there, that
 "they would call to mind how often, and how ear-
 "nestly she had given them notice of the evils which
 "threatned them. How carefully she had endeavour-
 "ed by frequent messages to *Don John* and to the States,
 "to keep them in their Duty and Obedience to the
 "King; nay, when those most rich Provinces were
 "offered her to take them into her possession, how
 "she took them not so much as into her Protection.
 "Lastly, when things were come to the greatest extre-
 "mity, how plentifully she supply'd them with Money,
 "lest thro necessity they should have been forced to
 "seek another Master, and to disturb the Peace new-
 "ly proposed. But when she understood that *Don*
 "*John* would not accept the Peace, she protested most
 "solemnly that she not only admonish'd him, but
 "did even threaten him to it. Whether these things
 "be unworthy of a Christian Princess, studious of
 "Peace, and most desirous to do any kindness to the
 "*Spaniard* her Ally, let the *Spaniard* himself, and all
 "Christian Princes judge. Then she advises him to re-
 "store the States to their Priviledges, and to remove
 "*Don John* from the Government, to whom the
 "States bore an implacable hatred, and who had en-
 "tered into private Machinations with the Q of *Scots*
 "against her Majesty. So that she could expect no-
 "thing

Quasi Rebel-
 lionem in Bel-
 gio foveret.

Carden part 2.

an. 1577. p.

301. *Stow* p.

682.

“ thing but certain danger from the *Low Countries*
 “ while he govern’d there. And now, when she saw
 “ how many Forces he had rais’d, and how many
 “ *French* Auxiliaries he had in readiness, her Majesty
 “ professes, that she had promised the States her as-
 “ sistance, both to preserve the *Low Countries* to the
 “ *Spaniard*, and to defend *England* from danger: who
 “ had likewise engaged to her, both to continue in
 “ their Duty to the King of *Spain*, and to make no
 “ further innovation in matters of Religion. But if
 “ his Majesty did not approve of this, but resolved by
 “ the violation of all their Rights and Priviledges, to
 “ enslave them, and use them as a conquered People,
 “ she could not be wanting both to the defence of her
 “ Neighbours, and the preservation of her own E-
 “ states. And if the States on the other side should
 “ renounce their Allegiance, and not stand to the
 “ terms agreed upon, her Majesty would immediately
 “ turn her Arms upon them.

Camden an.
 1585. part 3.
 p. 439.

Stow p. 709.
Tbuanus Hist.
Tom. A. lib. 83.
 p. 78, 79.

And afterwards Her Majesty alledgeth the many
 injuries received from *Spain*, and the necessary preser-
 vation of her own Kingdoms, in an Account which she
 caused to be published in *Latin*, *Italian*, *English* and
French, in defence of her taking the States into her
 Protection. So notorious is it, that *Q. Elizabeth* al-
 ways abhorred to be thought to foment Rebellion:
 And when by the necessity of her affairs she was dri-
 ven to protect the United Provinces against her most
 inveterate Enemy, she was most solicitous to clear
 her self from that imputation; and to justify all her
 proceedings upon this account. It may be sufficient
 to refer the Reader to her several Declarations that
 are set down at large in *Stow's Chronicle*.

If any one shall presume to say that these her protestations were not real, as that is highly injurious to the memory of so excellent a Princess, and is in great measure already confuted by matter of fact, so it doth not at all concern the case in hand, unless we must suppose that the Convocation pry'd into the depth of her Councils, and was acquainted with all the Mysteries of State.

Queen *Elizabeth* succeeded to the Crown in 1558. she received the States into her Protection in the 27th year of her Reign, in the 30th happened the *Spanish* Invasion, and in the 35th was the Subsidy granted which is next objected. Though the Clergy only say, *That they grant it in consideration of the great and important charges that Her Majesty had already, and was like hereafter to sustain, as well in the necessary Provision of all kinds of Munition, for the better fortifying both by Sea and Land of Her Highnesses Dominions, and withstanding Forreign Invasion, as also in the provident and needful prevention of such and the like intended attempts, manifestly tending to the disturbance of the Peace, to the utter overthrow of the present happy State of this Her Highness Realm, to the miserable ruin of divers other Princes and Countries associate and near adjoyning, and to the Extirpation and Rooting out of the sincere Profession of the Gospel of Christ both here and elsewhere.* They further add, *That the malice of the Adversaries of Gods Truth, sworn Enemies to Her Majesty and the Prosperity of this Realm, did daily increase.* These Clauses will need no justification nor explaining, if we consider that the *Spanish* Invasion happened but five years before. And that the Queen was now maintaining by her Forces in *France*, the Right of *Hen. IV.* against his Popish Subjects, who kept him from the Throne.

The

The Subsidy in the 43 *Eliz.* was given when an Army of *Spaniards* was Landed in *Ireland*, as the preamble mentions. The words whereupon the objection is grounded must be these, included in this Parenthesis, (*For who has or should have a livelier sense, or better remembrance, of Your Majesties Princely Courage and Constancy, in advancing and protecting the free profession of the Gospel, within and without Your Majesties Dominions, against so many and so mighty Adversaries thereof, or Your most Christian care to maintain Peace within Your Kingdom, and among your People, than your Clergy?*) How the Queen advanced and protected the free profession of the Gospel we have seen before. She omitted no opportunity in her Treaties or in her Wars to protect the Protestants; but she never took up Arms in their Defence, unless the War were upon other accounts justifiable, and was so far from abetting Subjects that resisted for a free profession of Religion, that on the contrary she obliged the *Dutch* not to revolt from the King of *Spain*, nor to change their Religion, or reform the publick Worship by their own Authority without his consent.

2. It was the Doctrine of the Church at that time, that it is unlawful for Subjects to resist, and therefore our Divines justify both the *French* and *Scottish* Protestants no further than is consistent with this Doctrine. Having fully prov'd the former particular, I shall be shorter in the proof of this, which indeed is plainly consequent from the former. For if, according to the Doctrine of those times, it had been so glorious a thing to assist Subjects who had taken up defensive Arms against their Prince, the Queen would undoubtedly have urg'd that, as the chief and most justifiable Cause of War: so far would she have been from

from dissembling or excusing it, and further yet from declaring her abhorrence of it, and protesting that she made War upon other accounts. Dr. *Whitgift* was Archbishop of *Canterbury* when the two last Subsidies were granted, and Dr. *Bancroft* Bishop of *London* when the last was given; and therefore it cannot be supposed that the two Convocations designed to approve of any Resistance that had been made upon account of Religion, either in *France* or *Scotland*. For this is directly against their constant Doctrine, who always maintain that Subjects have no Right to defend Religion by force, much less to introduce a Reformation in opposition to the Supream Magistrate. Dr. *Bancroft* condemns all such proceedings as unwarrantable, and particularly the proceedings of the Parliament in *Scotland* 1560. which is but three years before the Subsidy Act 5 *Eliz.* Dr. *Cosin* the famous Civilian, who was in so high Esteem and Favour with Archbishop *Whitgift*, that he first made him Chancellour of *Worcester*, and afterwards Dean of the Arches and Vicar General, in his answer to a *Factionous Libel*, Intituled, *An Abstract of certain Acts of Parliament, &c. published by Authority An. 1584*, calls those men *Firebrands of Treason, who in the case of Religion, by their Books, would Arm inferiour Magistrates against their Sovereigns.* Append. to the first Treat. p. 194. *Nullus enim novi dogmatis Author sum: nec novi quicquam affero, quod ante me a viris doctissimis non fuerit dictum scio enim multo plures mecum sentire, quam cum iis, quibus adversari audeo.* *Sarav. lib.*

Archbishop *Whitgift* likewise was a great Patron to *Saravia*, Mr. *Hookers* most intimate Friend, who in his excellent Book concerning *Christian Obedience to Princes*, speaks as high for Passive Obedience as any of

Vide Whitgifts Exhortation to Magistrates before his answer to the Admonition: and Defence of the Answer to the Adm. Treat. 20. p. 694, &c. Dangerous Positions and Proceed. Book 1. cap. 3. p. 13.

our Divines have done since, and in his Epistle before it, he declares that he *teaches no new Doctrine but what had been taught by most Learned Men before, and that he knows he has many more of his side than against him.* Dr. Babington was consecrated Bishop of Landaff 1591. two years before the Subsidy-Act, 35 Eliz. And in his Notes upon Numb. 16. hath these words. 4. *The Earth clave asunder, &c. memorabile exemplum contra seditiosos, quo Deus ostendit sibi curæ esse Gubernatores, & non impunitos fore, qui resistunt. Simile in Ephraemitis contra Jephtham insurgentibus, in Absalone contra Davidem, in Zedechia contra Regem Babylonis. Rom. 12. Qui resistit ordinationi Dei, &c. Prov. 24. Time Dominum Fili mi, &c. non cum seditiosis. Magistrates are Men and may do wrong, yet we must not revenge by Rebellion, Saul unjustly Persecuted David, yet David would not hurt him when he had opportunity. Bishop Babing. comfortable Notes upon Numbers, c. 16. Part 4. p. 66. Vid. Part. 2. p. 65. Dr. Fulk in his confutation of the Rhemish Notes upon the N. T. printed 1589, on Rom. 13. says, that the Protestants, God be thanked, at this day and always are obedient even to wicked Princes unto Death and Martyrdom. I shall add but one Testimony more, and that is of an Author beyond all exception in this matter, I mean Bishop Bilson, whose Authority is now frequently brought by the great Champions of Resistance. And of whom, for his being too loose in his Principles of Government, K. Charles I. testifies that *the King his Father had that opinion of him, that he shew'd him some favour in hope of his Recantation; But whether he recanted or not, he could not say. Yet this Bishop in his Book concerning the true difference between Christian Subjection, and unchristian Rebellion, printed 1586. per-*
used*

Reply to Hen-
ryson's second
Paper.

used and allow'd by publick Authority, and dedicated to the Queen, declares this to be his Judgment of the Civil Wars in France.

In France, the K. of Navarr and the Prince of Conde Part 3. p. 281. might lawfully defend themselves from injustice and violence, and be aided by other Princes their Neighbours, if the King, as too mighty for them, sought to oppress them; to whom they owe not simple Subjection, but respective Homage, as Scotland did to England, and Normandy unto France, when the Kings notwithstanding had bitter Wars each with orher. The rest of the Nobles that did assist them, if it were the Kings Act that did oppress them and not the Guises, except the Laws do permit them means to save the State from open Tyranny, I will not excuse: and yet the circumstances must be fully known before the Fact can be rightly discerned, with which I confess I am not so exactly acquainted.

This matter will be further cleared if we observe, that Francis II. being but sixteen years of Age when Burnet Reform. Part 2. Book 3. p. 415. he came to the Throne, and Charles IX. but eleven when he succeeded him, several Books were written by Lawyers, to prove that the Government of France, till the King came to be 22 years old, belonged to the Princes of the Blood, and the King of Navarr being killed at the Siege of Roan in the beginning of the War, the Prince of Conde ought by the Law to have succeeded him in the Regency; and thus, as the Bishop of Salisbury observes, the Wars that follow'd after this could Reform. Part. 2. lib. 3. p. 416. not be called Rebellion, since the Protestants had the Law and the first Prince of the Blood on their side, to whom the Government did of right belong. And the same Bishop observes of the Low Countries, that the *Lætus*

Et pour ce que nous voulons & desirons que tous les poincts, articles, dons, & promesses, confirmations & ratifications susdictes, soyent & demeurent fermes & stables sans jamais les enfreindre. Avons promis en bonne foy, & jure sur les Saints Evangil-

les personnellement pour nous, nos hoirs, & successeurs, tenir iceux a tous generalement, assavoir aux Prelats, Monasteres, Hospitaux, Barons Chevaliers, villes & franchises, & a tous nos bons hoirs & sujets desdicts Pays de Brabant, & d'autre Meuse, a leurs Successeurs, apres le trespas de nostre Seigneur & Pere fermes & stables, & de ne jamais faire, ny souffrir estre fait au contraire en maniere quelconque.

Et en ces, que nous, ou nos hoirs & successeurs, fissions, ou voussissions au contraire, par nous mesmes, ou par quelque autre, en tout ou en partie, comme et en quelque facon que se soit. En tel cas consentons, & ostroyons a nosdicts Prelats, Barons, Chevaliers, villes, Franchises, & a tous nous autres Sujets, que a nos hoirs & successeurs, ils ne facent, & rendent aucun service ou devoir, ny present obeyssance en chose quelconque, ou aurions besoin, & les en voudrions requirer; jusque a tant que telle faute selon que cy dessus est dit, sera par nous ostee reparee & redressee, & en auront plainement & entierement desistee. A l'effect de quoy nous voulons, commandons, & declairons, que tous officiers, qui seroient constituez au contrair de cette nostre joyeuse entree soient incontinent doportez, & en outre aussi, que tout ce, qui dorenavant se pouroit attenter allencontre de ce que dessus ne soit ny puisse estre tenu de valeur au temps avenir. Et le tout sans fraude en tesmoin & perpetuelle confirmation de ce que dit est, Avons nos Empereur & Princes susdict fait mettre nos seaux a ces presentes. Donnes en nostre ville de Louvain de cinquiesme jour de Juillet l'an de nostre Seigneur 1549. de l'Empirie de nous Charles le 30, & de Royaumes de Castille & autres 34. Signe Charles, & aussi Philippes. Et plus bas par l'Empereur & Monseigneur le Prince, signe par l'Audiencier & primmier Secretaire *Verreyken* seellé des seaux desdicts Seigneurs Empereur & Prince en lacs d'or, & de soye noire. La Grande Chronique Ancienne & Moderne de Hollande, &c. par Jean Francois le Petit, Tome Second. Livre 10. p. 193, 194. In primis autem Brabantia & Ditiones ultra Mosam: ut Limburgum, Vale-kenburgum, Dalhemum, inter alia multa *Lætum Introitum*, *Additiones*, *Chartas*, & *Bullam auream* observant: quibus præcipua hæc continentur privilegia, &c. Si autem Dux Brantiæ in privilegia aut Legum Provincialium Chartas delinquat vel peccet, suove jussu aut permissu contrà fiat, vasallos subditosq; ab omni fide & obedientia absolutos atq; liberos esse (nisi desistat, restauret, renuncietaq;) ex ipsis privilegiis typo impressis manifesto liquet. Habent & aliæ Belgarum Provinciæ similia privilegia. ita ut ipse Princeps non quod vult, sed quod privilegia, quæ ante inaugurationem ubiq; jura nento confirmare tenetur, exigunt, facere debeat: Imò Belgas Privilegiorum vigore Principibus imperium omne abrogasse, atq; sequestrasse, Chronici libri liquido diversis exemplis demonstrant. *E Metorani Histor. Belgic. lib. 2. p. 33, 34. vid. Grot. de Antiquitate Reipub. Batavica p. 36.*

Introitus had been agreed to by the K. of Spain, when he was received by the States of the Netherlands to be their Prince; and that by the terms of that Agreement they were disengaged from their Obedience, when he had broke the conditions of it. Ibid.

Upon these Grounds that Learned Author justifies the Queens Proceedings, both in *France* and the *Low Countries*, after all his search into her Reign, and into the Principles of the Reformation. And the Queen
her

her self in her Declaration of her Causes, why to arm her
Subjects into France, alledged that she did it in behalf
 of the young King, and the Queen his Mother, to defend
 them from that illegal violence, wherewith they, and
 the good Subjects were assailed, as well as for the ne-
 cessary preservation of her own Kingdoms. And as
 her Declaration sent to the King of Spain, containing
 a Justification of her Proceedings with the States of the
 Low Countries, Dec. 20. 1577. setteth forth, that
 the Reason of her giving them assistance, was thereby
 only to defend them from Foreign Tyranny, to keep them
 in the Kings Obedience, from aliening themselves to any
 other Potentate, and to defend her self and her Domini-
 ons from the peril that thereby she seeth manifestly to
 ensue. So in her Declaration of the causes moving her
 Majesty to give aid to the Defence of the people afflicted
 and oppressed in the Low Countries, given at Richmond,
 Octob. 1. 1585, the Queen saith, That she had often
 and often again most friendly warned the King of Spain,
 that if he did not restrain the Tyranny of his Governours,
 &c. she feared that the people of his Countries should be
 forced for safety of their lives, and for continuance of
 their native Country in their former state of their Liber-
 ties, to seek the Protection of some other foreign Lord, or
 rather to yield themselves wholly to the Sovereignty of some
 mighty Prince, as by the ancient Laws of their Countries,
 and by special Priviledges granted by some of the Lords
 and Dukes of the Countries to the people, they do pretend
 and affirm, that in such cases of general Injustice, and upon
 such violent breaking of their Priviledges, they are free
 from their former Homages, and at Liberty to make
 choice of any other Prince to be their Prince and Head.
 The proof whereof, by examples past, is to be seen and read
 in the ancient Histories of divers alterations of the Lords
 and

Vid. Stowe p.
648, &c.

Stowe p. 684.

Vid. Joannis
Mauricii Gul.
Auriac. lib. 10.
p. 412. An.
1576.

Printed, London,
An. 1585. p. 89.

and Ladies of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zeland and other Countries to them United, by the States and People of the Countries, and that by some such alterations, as the Stories do testifie, Philip the Duke of Burgundy came by his Title; from which the King of Spain's Interest is derived, &c.

The Prince of Orange likewise in his (a) Answer to the Commission for Apprehending him,

(a) *Response du Prince d'Orange &c. La Grand Chronique &c. Liv. 10. p. 171.*

(b) *Justification du Prince d'Orange. Ib. liv. 10. p. 176, &c.*

(c) *Apologia illustrissimi Principis Willelmi Dei Gratia Principis Auriaci, &c. ad Proscriptionem ab Hispaniarum Rege in eum promulgatam, &c. apud Carolum Sylvi-um Typographum Ordinum Hollandiæ MDLXXXI. p. 57, 59, 74.*

in his (b) Justification of himself against his Calumniators; and in his (c) Apology written against the King of Spain's Bann or Proscription, when he had set a price upon the Princes Head, insists upon the particular Priviledges of those Countries, whereby it was expressly provided, that upon the violation of the said Priviledges, obedi-

ence should be no longer due from them to the King of Spain, till their Grievances were redressed, and reparation made. And the (d) States themselves in

their *Edict*, whereby they declare the King of Spain to have forfeited his Right to those Provinces, justifie their proceedings in the same manner.

(d) *Joint aussi que la plus part desdictes Provinces ont toujours receu, & admis leur Princes, & Seigneurs a certaines conditions, & par contracts & accords jurez.*

Lesquels si le Prince vient a violer, il est selon droit decheu de la Superiorité du Pays. Edit des Estates Generaux declarans le Roy Espagne decheu de la Seigneurie des Pays Bas. Grand Chronique, &c. Liv. 13. p. 429.

Moreover, the Reasons moving the Queen to assist both the States and the French Protestants, for the Preservation of her self, and her own Countries, were as great and as urgent, as can be imagined. For besides the King of Spain's aim at an Universal Monarchy, several Popish Princes were so desperately resolved up-
on

on the destruction of all those, they called Hereticks, that the Queen, whom they looked upon at the same time, and by the same Usurpation, to keep Popery out of *England*, and the Queen of *Scots* from her Throne, could by no means think her self in any security, but was obliged to take every advantage, with all her Strength and Policy, to oppose these endeavours. Frequent Conspiracies made in behalf of the Queen of *Scots*, were discovered at home. *Sebastian* K. of *Portugal* had designed an Invasion from abroad, and the King of *Spain* actually attempted it. (a) *Henry II.*

Camb. Hist. Part 2. An. 1578. p.

313.

King of *France*, had declared to the Prince of *Orange*, that the Duke of *Alva* was contriving how to extirpate all Protestants, not only out of *France*, and the *Low Countries*, but out of the whole Christian World besides, and opened unto him all the secrets of the *Spanish* Counsels, supposing him

(a) Sed quo tempore eram in Gallis, & Rex Henricus, ipse mihi suis verbis exponeret Ducem Albanum consilia agitare de extirpandis e Gallia, Belgio, & toto orbe Christiano, quotquot Religionis essent suspecti, &c. *Apol: Princ. Aur. p. 44. Vid. Joannis Meursii Guilielm. Auriac. lib. 1. p. 7. An. 1559.*

then to be of *Alva's* Party, because he came with Powers to conclude a Peace, and was intrusted with other affairs of great importance. The Emperour *Maximilian II.* had been forced to conceal his Religion, *Ib. p. 21.*

as he confessed to the Prince of *Orange*, for the dread he ever had of the *Spaniards*, after he had had Poyson given him by Cardinal *Granvelle*, when he was King of *Bohemia*. *Charles V.* is thought likewise to have been a Papist only in outward Profession: Many thousands in *France* had been destroyed by Massacre:

Mexeray Hist. Franc. 2d. p. 66c.

Henry III. who was always a *Roman Catholick*, and *Henry IV.* who was forced to profess himself one, before he could enjoy his Crown, were both suspected as too remiss and indifferent in their Religion, and both at last fell a Sacrifice to that zeal, which nothing but blood

blood could satisfie. What then could a Protestant Princess expect, but such desperate attempts as were so often made against her Life? And what could she do less, than to be always upon her Guard, to keep that Fury at a distance, and to suppress that Violence, which she saw rage in her Neighbour Countries, and which had so often threatned her own? What, I say, could she do less, than arm against a Common Enemy, and omit no opportunity for her own defence? So that though the War were not so justifiable on the part of the States, or of the French Protestants, yet her part in both Wars would be justifiable beyond all dispute. For as the Declaration concerning the Forces sent into France, saith, *Her Majesty understood very certainly of an open Destruction and Subversion there put already in ure, and likewise intended against all States and Persons professing the Gospel abroad.* And as another Declaration (a) expresseth it, *Her Scepter, Diadem, Kingdom, Living and Life, were greedily thirsted after by the Spaniard, so Potent and so Malicious an Enemy; and the Spaniards are therein challenged to deny (if they can) that they solicited many English Subjects to Rebel, before Her Majesty so much as thought of the relieving her ancient Confederates, by her just and honest means.*

(a) Declaration of the Causes, which moved the chief Commanders of the Navy of Her Most Excellent Majesty, &c. to take and Arrest certain Ships of Corn, &c. prepared for the Services of the King of Spain, &c. Printed, London, 1589. p. 5, & 14.

From all that has been said, I think it is far enough from being pretty evident from matter of Fact, that Passive Obedience was not the Doctrine of the Church of England, for forty years together, in Queen Elizabeths Reign.

He next says, That he desires to stand or fall by the example of David, which is so much recommended to us
in

in the second Homily against Rebellion, for, says he, We are sure that David took up defensive Arms against Saul, and he thinks Subjects would be very unreasonable to desire any more. Yet there are those unreasonable Subjects in the World, who if you allow them Defensive Arms, will take up Offensive Arms too, especially since they quickly learn to argue, that to kill him who would kill them, is necessary for their own Defence; and killing, I think, is some sort of offending.

But how doth it appear that *David* took up Defensive Arms? The Homily tells us of no such thing, but on the contrary, *That when for his most painful, true and faithful Service, King Saul yet rewarded him not only with great unkindness, but also sought his Destruction and Death by all means possible: David was fain to save his Life, not by Rebellion, or any Resistance, but by flight, and hiding himself from the Kings sight.* The Scripture tells us as little of this *Defensive* Resistance: For tho' we read of the *helpers of David*, and the *helpers of the War*, and that in his flight he had a considerable number about him, yet we do not read that they ever helped him against *Saul*, any otherwise than to secure his flight, and after his Death they helped him to the possession of his Kingdom against the House of *Saul*, (2 Sam. 2, &c.) and they fought for him against the *Amalekites*, (1 Sam. 30) and other Enemies. But most especially, these his Followers seem to be designed to secure his Succession to the Throne; to which he was anointed, and he consulting with *Samuel* (1 Sam. 19. 18.) and with *Gad* (1 Sam. 22. 5.) they might by Gods appointment direct him to retain so many about him, God having purposed by their means to bring him to the Crown, notwithstanding the opposition of the House of *Saul*. And in the mean time they gave

F him

him notice of *Saul's* motions, for he had constantly Spys out, and fled from place to place to hide himself: Tho he might reasonably hope to vanquish *Saul's* Army, as he did the *Philistines* (1 Sam. 23. 5.) yet after he had overcome them, and had delivered *Keilah* out of their hands, and had designed to stay there for some time, when God answer'd him that the men of *Keilah* would deliver him up, if *Saul* should once approach the Town, and not suffer him to escape; he took the first opportunity to depart from thence, and made no opposition to *Saul*, but went into the Wilderness, and fled from one strong hold to another.

And as *David* twice enquired of the Lord, before he durst venture a Battel with the *Philistines*, and went not down to *Keilah* to fight with them, till he had this peremptory command, *Arise, go down to Keilah, for I will deliver the Philistines into thine hand*; so he might perhaps think, that God had designed it as an especial place of Refuge for him, and that there he might stand upon his defence, since God himself, in whose disposal are all things, had by him rescued it from the hands of the *Philistines*, and thereby assigned it as he might imagine, to him and his Followers; believing therefore that he had a Title by Divine Right to this place, which God had miraculously put into his possession. He again inquires of the Lord, whether *Saul* would come down, and if so, whether the men of *Keilah* would deliver him into his hands, and he probably expected such an answer as should satisfy his Conscience, and discharge both himself and his own Followers, with the men of *Keilah*, from their Allegiance to *Saul*. But as soon as he understood that he was mistaken in the design of Gods late dispensation towards him, if he expected Commission to use
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any such extraordinary means, or that God would in any wise release him from the common obligations of all Subjects ; *then David and his Men, which were about six hundred, rose and departed out of Keilah, and went whithersoever they could go.*

Thus in constant danger of his Life, he fled from place to place, and when *Saul* was twice at his mercy, he rather chose to run the same dangers over again, than to do the only thing in the World, which could deliver him out of them. His followers were of another mind, they were for arguing from Providence: *Behold the day of which the Lord hath said unto thee, behold I will deliver thine Enemy into thine hand, that thou mayst do to him as it shall seem good unto thee, 1 Sam. 24. 4.* And *Abishai* could scarce be restrained from killing him, *God hath delivered thine Enemy into thine hand this day, now therefore let me smite him I pray thee, with the Spear even to the Earth at once, and I will not smite him the second time. (1 Sam. 26. 8.)* They thought that God, who had by his Prophet declared that *David* should succeed, had now by special Providence brought *Saul* under his Power, and if he would twice neglect such an opportunity, which God himself had put into his hands, what was it but a plain contempt of God, and a throwing away his own Life ; this must of necessity forfeit Gods favour, and provoke his wrath, for he who had rent the Kingdom for much less provocation from *Saul*, would never bestow it upon one who so little valu'd the Divine favours, as to refuse it when it was twice offered. For could he think that this was not Gods doing, was not a *deep sleep from the Lord fallen upon Saul, and upon his whole Army ? 1 Sam. 26. 12.* and would he again let him go ? You took up only Defensive Arms indeed, but God now calls you

to Offensive Arms. He bids you strike, or rather your Arms are defensive still, when you have no other way to defend your own Life, or to continue in Gods favour.

This, Sir, has much more plausibility in it than the Arguments which some Men used from Providence, in the times of the late Rebellion, and I am affraid, many that pretend to be only for Defensive Arms, would have turned them into Offensive, upon much less inviting circumstances. But *David's Heart smote him*, for cutting off but the Skirt of *Saul's Robe*; and he looked upon all these concurring circumstances of Providence to be only for his tryal, not for an approbation of the Fact. I shall say no more of this, for the same Reason that he gives, *because it has been enlarged upon by better Pens.* But as he refers us to the second part of the Homily against Rebellion, so let me refer him to the last, and let him see there, whether King *John's* Subjects took up only *Defensive Arms* too, and whether the same Arms are allow'd by that Homily, which we are so often told are allow'd by his Charter, and then I must desire him to explain *14 Car. 2. cap. 3.* where it is said, *That both or either of the Houses of Parliament cannot, nor lawfully may, raise or levy any War, offensive or defensive, against His Majesty, his Heirs, or Lawful Successors.*

The Person of *Quality* cannot pass by the Epithet of the distinguishing Character of the Church of England, without some Animadversions on it. And 1. He asks his Friend, whether he thinks it necessary for particular Churches to have particular distinguishing Doctrines; for his own part, he thinks it very inconvenient, but hopes his Friend will correct his Error, if he be in one. I shall willingly leave that task where he has left it, but as to the

the thing it self, whether *distinguishing Doctrines* be convenient or inconvenient, that is according as the Doctrines are, good or bad. No doubt it is inconvenient to have bad distinguishing Doctrines, but it is as certain that it is very convenient for a Church to have distinguishing Doctrines, provided they be good ones, unless a Church can be obliged to err for Company, and to avoid distinction; which will not very well agree with the Text, that forbids us to *follow a multitude to do evil*, nor with the practice of the Primitive Christians, when the Orthodox were *so few in comparison, that had there not been some Names of Note among them, they would hardly have been reckoned a Number*. But it agrees admirably well with the Principles of Popery, thus to avoid distinction, which has its numbers to boast of when nothing else is to be said. We have been often told by Papists, almost in the same words, that this Writer upbraids us with now, *That if Passive Obedience be the distinguishing Character of the Church of England, so truly it may still continue if we please, for he believes there is no other Church so fond of it as to rob us of it*.

But there is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism; and St. Paul reproves the Corinthians, because one cryed he was of Paul, and another of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ. And must not then those that held one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, necessarily distinguish themselves from all that held more than one? And if some would say they were of *Paul*, and some of *Apollos*, and some of *Cephas*, might not others distinguish themselves from them, by saying they were of *Christ*?

But by this Doctrine he pretends we distinguish our selves *from all other Churches in the World, and so from*

from the Catholick Church : And why Bishop Lake, or or any body, should value a Doctrine so much on that score, is that he cannot comprehend. But he may comprehend if he please, that it was never pretended that this Doctrine is taught no where but in our Church. We know very well, and can prove, that it was taught in the Primitive Church, and is taught in other Protestant Churches at this day. But this is evident by fatal experience, that Passive Obedience is the *distinguishing Character* of the Church of *England*, by Law established, whereby it is distinguished from the separate Congregations among us, both of Fanaticks and Papists, and to justify this distinction, we have the expresse Testimony of several of our Princes since the Reformation, and of the Laws themselves too, that are still in force : which abundantly shew how dangerous the Principles of other Perswasions are to the State, as well as to the Church.

This, Sir, evidently explains his Lordships meaning, when he styles Passive Obedience the distinguishing Character of the Church of *England*: Yet if other Churches have not preserv'd this Doctrine in its Purity as ours has done, as we would not provoke them to a Comparison, so we have no reason to be ashamed of it. But that they have taught this Doctrine, might be proved from the Writings of many of the most Learned and Pious Foreign Divines ; and particularly, from a Book of a * *French Protestant*, lately written, who in the midst of Persecution, writes in defence of Passive Obedience, when he at the same time suffered what we have feared.

* Traité du
Pouvoir abso-
lu des Souve-
rains, &c. a
Cologne. 1685.

But I shall not pretend to give you, Sir, a second part of the History of *Passive Obedience* : I shall only say, that when his Lordship saw this Doctrine treat-
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ed in the vilest and most opprobrious Language, and compared to the most absurd Doctrines of Popery, even to Transubstantiation it self, by such as value themselves notwithstanding upon their being Members of the Church of *England*: He had then too great occasion to declare, that he had ever this Notion of the Church of *England*, that it was as upon other accounts, so upon this particularly distinguished from Popery and Fanaticism, that it never taught the resisting and deposing Doctrines, as the opposite Parties have both done.

Nor doth this imply, that all who have taken the Oath have thereby renounced the Church of *England*, as he would insinuate, nor so much indeed as that they have renounced this very Doctrine, tho whoever hath renounced it, the Bishop truly did suppose, that they had so far departed from the Doctrine of our Church. But as there are several different Hypotheses to reconcile men to the taking of the new Oath, so there is but one of them which is thought inconsistent with the Doctrine of Passive Obedience. For Conquest, Abdication, the taking of the Oath in a lower sense, or with a Declaration, are held so well consistent with it, that some who are Zealous Advocates for the Oath, yet have lately written in behalf of Passive Obedience. And I believe if a computation could be made, of all who have taken it upon the account of some one or more of these Notions, those that have taken it upon contrary Principles, would not be much considerable either for *Note or Number*, though our Person of Quality should happen to be among them. One way, indeed, the Men of those Principles have to make themselves considerable, they are always most busie and violent, fancying that they
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have a share in Sovereignty, and valuing themselves upon their being nearer a Throne, than others dare presume to be. But I hope we shall not always see affronts upon Majesty pass for Wit instead of Argument, and that Men will not always be suffered to be Wiser than the Laws. What Duty or Service can it be to Their present Majesties, to tell the people twice or thrice a Week from the Press, that Sovereign Princes are upon their good behaviour ?

I shall not doubt to say, that these who cannot take the Oath, yet wish better to Their Majesties than these their violent Adversaries, and in the end will prove better Subjects. Their Majesties are the two Persons in the World, whose Reign over them, their Interest and Inclinations oblige them most to desire, and nothing but Conscience could restrain them, from being as forward as any in all expressions of Loyalty. This is one of the strongest Temptations they meet with, and upon this account we have seen so great an example of Self-denial since the Death of *K. Charles II.* that the like can scarce be shewn in any Age ; in a Bishop to whose Care and good Instructions is in great measure owing the Protestant Succession to the Throne, who so long has run all the hazards of the Court, and is still forced to decline the rewards of his eminent Services, with the same good Conscience wherewith he performed them. And in general, I have this one Request to make, to all who are true Sons of the Church of *England*, that they would be pleased but to consider with themselves, at what time in their Lives before, they took the Suspended Clergy to be the Men they now seem to be taken for ? Did they at any time till just now, suspect them to be so fond of suffering for an empty and groundless Opinion ? They can best judge

judge who were so lately in the same dangers with them, they acted then unanimously upon a Principle of Conscience, but considering men know how impossible it is, for all men to have the same sense of things in such a juncture as this. And must those of the Church of *England* only, not be allowed to have tender Consciences ?

I perceive I am carry'd too far; but who can forbear to be concerned, to see some men lose their Charity, as fast as others are losing their Preferments ? I believe the suspended Clergy as little regard the hopes as the fears of that Lay-Gentleman, who declares publicly and in Print, that *he hopes they will meet with little compassion* ; they will excuse him his compassion, if he will but act with more Charity, and in his cooler thoughts seriously reflect upon the ill treatment he has used towards a Bishop who would have been a Glory to the Church in any Age, and he and many more, are reserved, by Providence, for Blessings to the present Age, if we will not deprive our selves of them. We have seen two snatched away almost at the same time, let us so *lay it to Heart*, as not to provoke God to send down upon us, those *Judgments*, which he is wont to deliver the *Righteous from*, by *taking them away* to himself.

These two good Bishops spent their dying Breath in recommending the Doctrines of Peace, and in following their Masters example, as far as it was possible for them, by bequeathing the Blessings of Peace and Unity to the Church ; which is the best Legacy that any Bishop could leave, though it has been called so in derision by one, whose scurrility nothing can escape, since it has had the good luck to be mistaken by some for Wit. But it is not impossible, that a man, who

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would impose upon the present Government for Merit his Revenge and Malice against the last, may miss his aim in upbraiding the Government, and in pressing so importunately upon the people ~~the~~ Remembrance of his Sufferings. 'Tis natural to pity even the worst Malefactors in great misery, and under severe Punishments, our Passions often are too hard for their Crimes, and perswade us to hope the best of them; but for a man to be always *strugling* and kicking, and crying out, as if he were still under the *Lash*, this can no more prove him innocent than it can make him so.

A *Legacy* of that nature could never be more seasonable, when the same Writer is not ashamed to say of the two Bishops, and the other Assistants upon the *Scaffold*, with the Unfortunate Duke of *Monmouth*, *That he was haunted and tormented by them at a dying hour, and tempted either to despair, or dye with a lye in his mouth*, only because they earnestly exhorted him to confess his *sin of Rebellion*. If his Principles could be maintained in a modest and Christian way, he would have avoided all Reflections upon the Persons of men, whom every one honours besides, or would not however have censured them for an Action, which is so highly to be commended in them. For sure there must go a strange deal of Uncharitableness to the Reproaching *such* men, for one of the best and most charitable Offices, which a Christian or a Divine can perform. With what face can it be said, that *they would have sent him out of the World with a Lye in his mouth*, when they would have perswaded him to confess the Truth, and to give Glory to God by a free and an open Confession? He stood attainted as a Traytor and a Rebel, by Act of Parliament, and the House of Commons not long after,

ter, tho in another Session, in an Address to the King (no *Flattering* Address, but that noble one against the Popish Officers, and Dispensing Power) did expressly call *Monmouth's* attempt a *Rebellion*, and gave the K. hearty thanks for his Conduct and Care in suppressing it : And the Duke had himself in part confessed his Crime, as he did likewise in his Letter Printed afterwards ; how then could that Charity and exceeding Tenderness, which they used towards this poor dying Gentleman, deserve the vile Imputation of cramming a Lye down his Throat at the Block ? The two Bishops, who had that sad Office on the *Scaffold*, did and said nothing without the *consent* and *concurrence* of the two Reverend Doctors, who might at this time, expect better Quarter from him. But it is not in the nature of a Man so wonderfully exalted with the *Grinning Honour* of maintaining the established Doctrine of the Church all alone, to use common Civility to any of our Profession, or else he would never strike at so many excellent Persons at once ; at least, he would not so often and so abusively, reflect upon that admirable Letter to my Lord *Russel*, but would have had some regard for one, whom those, whose Judgment he durst not dispute, have another opinion of. But Their Majesties never called K. *J. Tyrant*, nor *Rebel*, though he has done it ; this is peculiar to the Gentleman of *Grinning Honour*. Yet no body has been worse affronted by him, than *Q. Elizabeth*, and the Parliaments and Convocations in her Reign, which he so often and so confidently talks of : He is every where insulting enough, but here he *tramples*, here he *fixes his foot* and triumphs. And to do him Right, he is the Inventor of this Argument, and the sole Proprietor too, however the *Person of Quality* came to encroach upon him, which was un-

kindly done: For if this Argument should chance to fail, as I think I have shewn it does, he will have nothing left him to boast of, but his *Grinning Honour*, and his blasphemous interpretation of the 13th Chapter to the *Romans*. In all other respects, he is not the mighty Champion he sets up for, but his confidence and his revilings are indeed unanswerable: For as he was lately told from the Pulpit, by observing that *the Angel would not bring any Railing Accusation against the Devil; for at that Weapon the Devil would have been too hard for him.*

If this be a Digression, Sir, I hope it is a very excusable one, since occasions are so industriously sought for, to asperse the Suspended Bishops; but what I have now said, is not so much to vindicate them, as to observe to you, that they have been slandered by him. For after the universal commendation and applause of the Kingdom, nothing could be added to compleat their Praises, but the Reproaches of such men as he

The Writer of the Letter observes, That *King James has done more mischief by the divisions he has occasioned among us, than he could have done by his Persecutions.* And I beseech him, who raised these Divisions, they who desire only to enjoy their own Consciences in Peace, or those who fill the Nation with complaints, if a dying Bishop declares that he acted purely out of Conscience. What could tend more to the healing our Divisions than this, if men would but consider it, and make a due use of it? But when this Gentleman must needs know, that his Lordship at the same time received the Holy Sacrament, at the hand of a Reverend Divine who has taken the Oath, to insinuate that he would *hardly allow those who have taken the*
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New Oath, to be so much as Out-lyers of the Church of England, is a thing, I confess, that I can scarce reconcile to any degree of Charity. And can any thing inflame mens Minds, and widen our Divisions, more than such forced Interpretations of an Action which did so naturally tend to our Peace.

There was indeed great Reason to hope that *the words of a Dying Man just going to receive the Sacrament, would be the more credited, and make the deeper impression; for so good a Man could not be easily deceived himself, and at such a time it's certain did not design to deceive others.* Tho he doth the Bishop wrong to say he declared, that his *not taking of the Oath was the great consolation he had at that time.* His Lordship declared, 'tis true, that he found *much inward satisfaction* from it, but he had all the *Consolations* besides, as great as so good a man could have when he came to dye. The comfort of having always stood firm to his Duty, the remembrance of a well spent Life here, and the joyful hopes of a better in Heaven. But it was then most requisite, that he should particularly express his *inward satisfaction* as to this matter of the Oath, when Humour and Obstinacy, and any thing rather than Conscience, has been suspected to hinder Men from taking it; when some men could not be allow'd to suffer with as good a Conscience, as others to avoid suffering. 'Twas then certainly the most proper, and the most seasonable and charitable thing a dying Bishop could do, to declare that nothing but Conscience was the cause of his refusal; and that he now *enjoy'd the peaceable fruits of Righteousness*, in the testimony of a good Conscience for so doing.

This methinks should calm mens Tempers, or at least so far abate their Passions, as not to let them prosecute.

secute our *Divisions* into the other World, and suffer
 neither the Living nor the Dead to be at rest. All who
 have a true concen for the Church, and a just zeal a-
 gainst our *Divisions*, and the *Unreasonableness* of a new
Separation, can never better employ their Zeal, than
 by taking this opportunity from the Solemn Pro-
 testations of two dying Bishops, to incline men to
 more mild and favourable thoughts, and by using all
 their interest and endeavours to prevent that *Depriva-*
tion which is much to be feared, will be of dismal
 consequence to this Church. To say nothiag of the
 rest of the Clergy, if so many *Bishops* should be *deprived*,
 against whom there is not the least exception,
 but that they cannot take a *New Oath*, who would
 be most of all carested by those, that are now so much
 displeased at them, if they would but be *Forsworn*: If
 others should be put into their Sees, who since wor-
 thy men will scarce be fond of being so preferred,
 must be much interiour to them in all *Qualifications*,
 but that of taking an Oath; these things must of ne-
 cessity lessen the Reputation, and weaken the Autho-
 rity of the Clergy, and in effect, ruin the Church,
 without any *Schism* or *Separation*. What could Papists
 do or wish more, than to deprive us of so many of the
 principal Guides and Fathers of our Church at once?
 Now we are upon a design of *Comprehending* other
 Protestants, shall we have no regard for the *Metropo-*
litan himself, and so many *Suffragan* Bishops of our
 own Church? What great incouragement is there to
 be so active and sollicitous about a *Comprehension*, when
 they, to whose Care and Authority that chiefly belongs,
 must be excluded and deposed? When they, who in
 that solemn manner, and with that danger to them-
 selves, told King *James*, that they wanted no due ten-
 derness

derness towards Dissenters; but were willing to come to such a temper, as should be thought fit, when that matter should be considered, and settled in Parliament, and Convocation; are now so far from being admitted into Parliament, or Convocation, that they are themselves called *Dissenters*, though not with much *tenderness* by our *Person of Quality*. If it be expected from them, that they should be content to suffer as much from Protestants now, as they were ready to undergo not much above a year since, from Papists; yet what has the Church of *England* deserved, that it must be deprived of the benefit of their Government? That Church which has so long stood the Glory and Strength of the Reformation, and was never more Glorious than under their Conduct? And according to the support, which it receives from them, proportionable must its danger be in their Fall? It is by this time sufficiently evident, that though the Church of *England* may be abandoned, though it may be betrayed, yet it cannot be overcome: But if we widen our Gates, to let in never so great Multitudes, and at the same time make no due application to retain those Governours, under whom we have been so successful, and who cannot be displaced, but to the common damage, this may increase our Numbers, but it will certainly diminish our Strength.

But if our *Divisions* be more mischievous than King James's Persecutions could have been, this seems to be a strong Argument for Passive Obedience, and perhaps in consideration of our Divisions, he is for *Passive Obedience in a limited sense*; and when he says it is so necessary that the World cannot well subsist without it, he would have private Persons obliged to Passive Obedience but not Communities; he proves it thus: For
although,

although, say he, in my private capacity, I ought to submit to, and suffer the greatest Injustice, rather than disobey the Lawful Magistrate, and disturb the Government yet as I am an Englishman, I think I am as much obliged by all ties both Civil and Sacred, to defend and maintain the Government, and Constitution of which I am a Member, as I am to obey the King ; and that being the primary obligation, ought to be discharged in the first place : but the safety of that being secured, Subjects ought to obey, without any other reserve. I am sorry, Sir, we did not know the Gentlemans *Quality* before, for though he has a *private Capacity*, as well as other men, yet as an *Englishman* he is a whole *Community*, and therefore has great *Priviledges*, and for any thing you and I dare presume to know to the contrary, he may have a *Charter* to himself to say and do what he pleases, to Kings and Bishops, and all the World besides. It is not for you and me, Sir, to meddle with matters of State, who are meer particular private Persons, though Persons of *Quality* and *Communities* may take greater Liberties. But this I will venture for once to say, that the Supream Power, where ever it is placed, in a single Person or in a *Community*, must be irresistible ; and that a *Community* supposed not to be invested with part of the Sovereignty, can have no more right to resist than single Persons. For to say that *Communities* have a Power to resist, and that private Persons, as Members of *Communities*, have it too, as this Gentleman seems to mean, is such a diminution of Supream Power, as can never be consistent with it ; for all Inferiours, whether private Persons or *Communities*, can have no Power but what is derived from the Supream, and therefore if they have a Right to resist that too, must be derived from the Supream Power, and so the Supream Power must destroy it self. He

He argues that Resistance may be Lawful to avoid the Subversion of the Government ; but if Subjects be no longer in Subjection to the Supream Power, the Government is hereby destroy'd : For what more manifest Subversion can there be than this, That Subjects are no longer in subjection, nor Governours can no longer be able to Govern, so that this Argument tends only to prove that Subjects may subvert the Government one way, rather than suffer the Sovereign Power to do it another : And upon the whole, if the Government must be subverted, they would have the doing it themselves.

And though it be generally said, that there is a vast difference in the case of Resistance, where the Government is Absolute ; and where the people enjoy larger Priviledges ; yet *St. Paul* takes no notice of this Distinction in his Epistle to the *Romans* ; and the people of *Rome* always so jealous of their Liberty, can the least of any people in the World be supposed to give themselves up to an Absolute Monarchy ? And we must have a strange Notion of things, if we can think that a *Roman* Senator, or Citizen, had no more Liberty and Property than his Slave ; or if he had, that he had not as much Right to defend it, as we can have to defend ours.

But let the *Roman* Empire be as absolute as we can imagine, yet it must be certainly bounded by the Laws of Nature ; and no man can ever deny, but that there may be Tyrants in all Governments, nor is there any Reason why Tyrants in one Government should fare better than those in another, unless perhaps, Tyrants who abuse the Power which is most absolute, and transgress the Laws of Nature it self, ought to be more punishable than those who abuse

a more limited Power; and therefore easily transgressed, and offend only against the Civil Laws, the sense whereof is more ambiguous, and the breach less Criminal and Injurious than that of the Laws of Nature; so that if any Tyrants in the World are to be punished or deposed, or can forfeit their Sovereignty, these must be they, who cannot be content with the most Absolute Power, but resolve to break through all bounds, and to offer violence to Nature it self, that they may hurt and ruine their Subjects.

He concludes with a Question concerning *London-Derry*, which he designed for a very Stabbing Question; but by his Favour, as he has managed it, it is no more to the point of Passive Obedience, than if it had been concerning the Siege of *Troy*. It is the Duty of Christians to pray for Righteousness and Truth, and Peace, to all Mankind, how strange a Question therefore is it, to ask whether the Suspended Clergy did not both *wish and pray that London-Derry should be delivered out of the hands of merciless Butchers*? He believes they did, *because there were many thousands innocent Persons whom they never saw, and who never did them any wrong*. The Inhabitants of *London-Derry* are but little obliged to him, for bringing them in so needlessly, and then urging such Arguments in their behalf, as might be urged for any City in the World besides; and the bigger, and the further off the City is, the better still is his Argument, though it should happen to be a little Rebellious. I hope they have much more to say for themselves, than *that they had many thousand innocent Persons among them, whom the Suspended Clergy never saw, and who never did them any wrong*.

Thus, Sir, I have endeavoured to do some right to His Lordships memory, and I hope without offence,

if

if you can pardon me the trouble I give you of reading so tedious a Vindication, when there was so little need of any ; but it might perhaps be interpreted an affront to a Person of Quality, when he is pleased to write Pamphlets, to take but a slight notice of him : And we have reason to thank him for this long Intermision from that sad part of the Relation, to which I must now return.

The same day in which his Lordship made this Recognition and Profession, he afterwards made his Will, and ordered a Clause to be inserted, declaring his stedfastness to the Church of *England*, as by Law established ; for no worldly affair could divert him from that constant Zeal which he had for the Truth and Purity of Religion. His care for the Church took up very much of his thoughts, and when he had asserted her Doctrine, and had done his utmost towards the settlement of Truth and Unity, he with much satisfaction left her to his Protection, into whose hands he commended his own Spirit. His Faith towards God, his Charity towards all Men, and his cheerful Patience under so terrible a Disease, was indeed admirable, when his dear Relations and Friends about him, flattered themselves with hopes of his Recovery, he would often say, *that he knew the Symptoms were dangerous, and he believed mortal*, yet as he was willing to dye, so having lived in a constant preparation for Death, he was not at all discouraged at the sensible approaches of it, but took his final leave of his Lady, and of his two Sons, with the greatest presence of mind, as well as with all the Pious tenderness of the best of Husbands, and of Fathers. He said with such affection, as discovered an extraordinary degree of Charity, *that he forgave all the World*, and as be-

came that humility which was so peculiar to him, he was pleased not only to give his Pardon and Benediction, but to ask forgiveness of all about him, for any thing wherein he might have offended them : Who returned all the thanks for his perpetual kindness and favours that their Tears could express. Being asked whether the Exhortation in the Office of the Visitation of the Sick should be read, he answered, *Yes by all means, he would have nothing omitted which might express his Humiliation and Repentance.* When his Physicians came to him immediately after his receiving the H. Sacrament, he told them in a chearful Voice, *That he had now been under better hands than theirs.* And at another time when the proper Remedies were used, which must needs be very painful in such Distempers, he only said, *And is Life worth all this at threescore years and five?*

Thus he lay in much pain, but with wonderful Resignation of himself, wholly to the Divine Will, and with a clear use of his understanding till *Thursday*, when he fell into a kind of dozing sleep, and about Four next morning there appeared a great change in him, tho he then repeated the Lords Prayer after his Chaplain who pray'd by him, but seem'd insensible before the Prayers were ended. Afterwards he was observed to lift up his hands in Prayer to himself, but his Voice had failed him ; and from that time he lay in Convulsions struggling with Death, till he found his Passage into a better World, on *Friday, Aug. 30.* about Nine at night.

I know, you, Sir, and all good men must heartily lament so great a loss, which always would have been great, but never greater than now. And it seems
a sad

a sad indication of Gods wrath, that such men are taken away from us at a time when there is most need of them. But however it may please God to deal with a sinful People, we ought to bless his H. Name for his gracious mercy to him, and to us all in him who was never wanting to his Country in his Life, or at his Death, but has done his glorious part to save the Church twice in the space of one year.

And as he was a publick good to the Nation, so was he a peculiar Blessing to all that had the happiness to be near him. He was of an extraordinary courteous and generous Temper, always affable and easie of access, free and chearful in his Conversation, full of meekness and condescension, a great Encourager and Patron of Learning in others, which he possessed to ^{so} great^a degree himself. For by long and constant study, most^a Controversies were become familiar to him, and by the advantage of Books, and his own Observation, joyn'd with an excellent Judgment, he was very skilful and dextrous in business; and that experience which all men had of his Integrity and goodness did mightily facilitate whatever he undertook. He had successively many very considerable Preferments, but none of his own seeking. For he never was the man, that solicited for any, but when they were offered, did not decline an opportunity of being more useful in his Generation. He Preached frequently to the very time of his Suspension, and he was a constant Preacher for many years, and always much esteem'd. This constant Blessing attended him, that he was a Peace-maker where ever he came, and he was so prudent, and so successful in all the wise and kind Methods of gaining upon obstinate men, that the worst Enemies of Episcopacy were oftentimes reconciled

ciled to the Order it self for his sake. And I may confidently say, he left himself as few Enemies as ever any Bishop did ; and indeed, it were hard if he should have left any, when his only business was to promote the peace and benefit of Mankind. And this he did by condescending to their infirmities, and by gentle and prudent ways, but never used any mean or unworthy compliance. He always maintained the height of his Character, and the Sacred Dignity of his Office, and stedfastly adhered to the Articles and Canons of the Church in all particulars. And that lively sense of Religion, and conscientious Regard to his Duty, with that Candor and Charity which appeared in all his Actions, gained him a strange awe and reverence from those of a contrary Opinion. He was revered by all, but always most esteemed by those who best knew him. He was always popular, tho he never made it his business to be so, and it was seldom his fortune to be of the popular side ; and he who was so obliging to all, yet durst displease even his Friends when God and Religion was the cause.

He was of true *English* Courage, mild and peaceable, not easily mov'd, but sedate and undaunted ; and he has been sometimes heard to say, when Dangers were most threatening, *That he thanked God he never much knew what fear was, when he was once satisfy'd in the goodness of his cause:* And till then, he never would ingage himself in any. His judgment of Persons and things was determined by their own right and worth, not by the success. He never thought the worse of a despised and unbefriended cause, nor was ever discouraged under the most discouraging circumstances, but his Zeal was still then most vigorous, when he saw the Church in most distress, and in most need of it. A

A settled firmness of mind carry'd him through all the changes of Fortune with the same calm and even temper ; he was the same in the *Tower*, and at his Tryal, that he was in his own Palace at *Chichester*, always unalter'd and unconcern'd : Amidst the acclamations and applauses of the whole Nation, he was still the same that he had been in his most retired and private condition, and made only this advantage of it, to recommend the Duties of Obedience to God, and to the King, with the greater Authority.

This he did in *September* 1688, soon after the Bishops Tryal, going a Visitation extraordinary throughout his Diocese, for that very purpose, as His Grace my Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* had appointed, whose least intimations he never failed to observe. He took a long and expensive Journey, when he was very unfit for travel, being much afflicted with the Gout, that he might lose no opportunity to employ that esteem which the whole Kingdom had of his Merit, to the Glory of God, and for the Interest of His Majesty.

There is scarce a Gentleman in *Sussex* but can testify, with what Zeal he recommended to them Stedfastness and Perseverance in the Profession and Practice of the Doctrine of the Church of *England* ; and particularly, in their Loyalty to the King. This he insisted upon, that they must be ever Loyal, and by no means resist upon any account whatsoever, if they would be true to the Principles of the Church.

This I say, Sir, the Gentlemen of that County well remember, who met him in the several parts of his Diocese, with that respect which was wont to be payed to the Primitive Bishops. His Lordship was always exceedingly dear to them, and they to him,
but

but his coming now among them, was like the return from banishment of St. *Athanasius* or St. *Chrysostom*.

It must be confessed, that his Lordship lay under the same misfortune with most of the Nobility and Gentry at that time, to have his Duty and Affection to the King misunderstood. But he was content to be Loyal, under the reproach of Disloyalty ; which is the greatest Instance of Fidelity that any Subject can give.

He had a sober, and rational, and powerful sense of Religion, and how despicable soever it might appear to the World, he still thought it worth the suffering for, he considered that it is more dear to God himself, than to the best and most zealous men : and that God is most willing and able to maintain it. But if it must be revived in a degenerate age, by the same sufferings by which it was at first propagated, he was prepared to submit to the severest Methods of the Divine Providence ; and he could not imagine that it should make much for the Interest of Religion, to defend it against it self, against its own Doctrine. He remembered whom we are to follow, him who was meek and lowly, who did at first command all his Followers to take up the Cross, and has given a Dispensation to none, at any time, to refuse it.

But his Character will be best taken from S. *Paul's* words ; For he was directly that Bishop whom the Apostle describes, *blameless as the Steward of God, not self-willed, not soon angry, not given to Wine, no Striker, not given to filthy lucre, but a lover of Hospitality, a lover of good Men, sober, just, holy, temperate, holding fast the faithful Word, as he had been taught, that he might be able by sound Doctrine, both to exhort, and to convince the Gainsayers.* Thus,

Thus, Sir, you have his full Character, the rest is an imperfect account of the late Bishop of *Chichester*, though perhaps not so short as you expected it should be, unless it had been more exact. But I had no design to write His Lordships Life, any further than to shew, *That being trained up from his Childhood in the way he should go, when he was old he did not depart from it, but feared the Lord and the King, and medled not with them that are given to change.*

The Vindication was needless, I confess, and tedious, but upon the whole I shall make no excuse for the length of this Letter. I could not write of His Lordship in fewer words, for whilest I am writing to you of him, so long methinks I enjoy His Lordship's presence, and live over again those happy hours which we have formerly spent with him; and you will not blame me, Sir, if I am desirous to recall as much as I can, and to prolong that time now, which we always thought so short in the injoyment. And may the remembrance of his Doctrine, and the Imitation of his Example, revive and endear that time to us, till it be improved to a blessed Eternity with him in Heaven. I am

S I R,

Your Humble Servant.

I

Post-

Postscript.

IT may, Sir, be a further satisfaction to know the sense which the late Lord Bishop of Worcester had of the New Oath; who made the same profession in effect, that my Lord Bishop of Chichester did, though not altogether in so solemn a manner. I shall say little of that excellent Prelate, but the opinion which all men generally had of his Worth, and the Reverence with which he is always mentioned, cannot fail of rendring his Judgment upon his Death-Bed, very considerable in this matter.

His Lordship sent for a Reverend Divine, and after an hours discourse concerning the New Oath, and giving his Reasons why he could not take it, and expressing a great concern for the Clergy who were of another Opinion, and particularly for those of his own Diocess, he concluded with these words, If my heart do not deceive me, and Gods grace do not fail me, I think I could suffer at a Stake, rather than take this Oath. These words were spoken on the 23^d of June, being the Lords Day, about six in the Afternoon, two days before he dy'd, when His Lordship had as entire use of his Reason, as ever he had in the best State of his Health.

It is very observable, that the only two Bishops who have dyed since the refusal of the Oath, have declared, When they had now done with this World, and had no other expectations but of Death and Judgment, they refused it only upon a Principle of Conscience. And all who have any Charity or Conscience themselves, or the least respect for the Church of England, must give great regard to the dying words of two such Bishops, in whom their worst Enemies can find nothing to blame, but that which shall be their eternal Honour, that all the Temptations and Inducements which probably can happen in any Case, could never prevail with them to take an Oath against their Consciences.

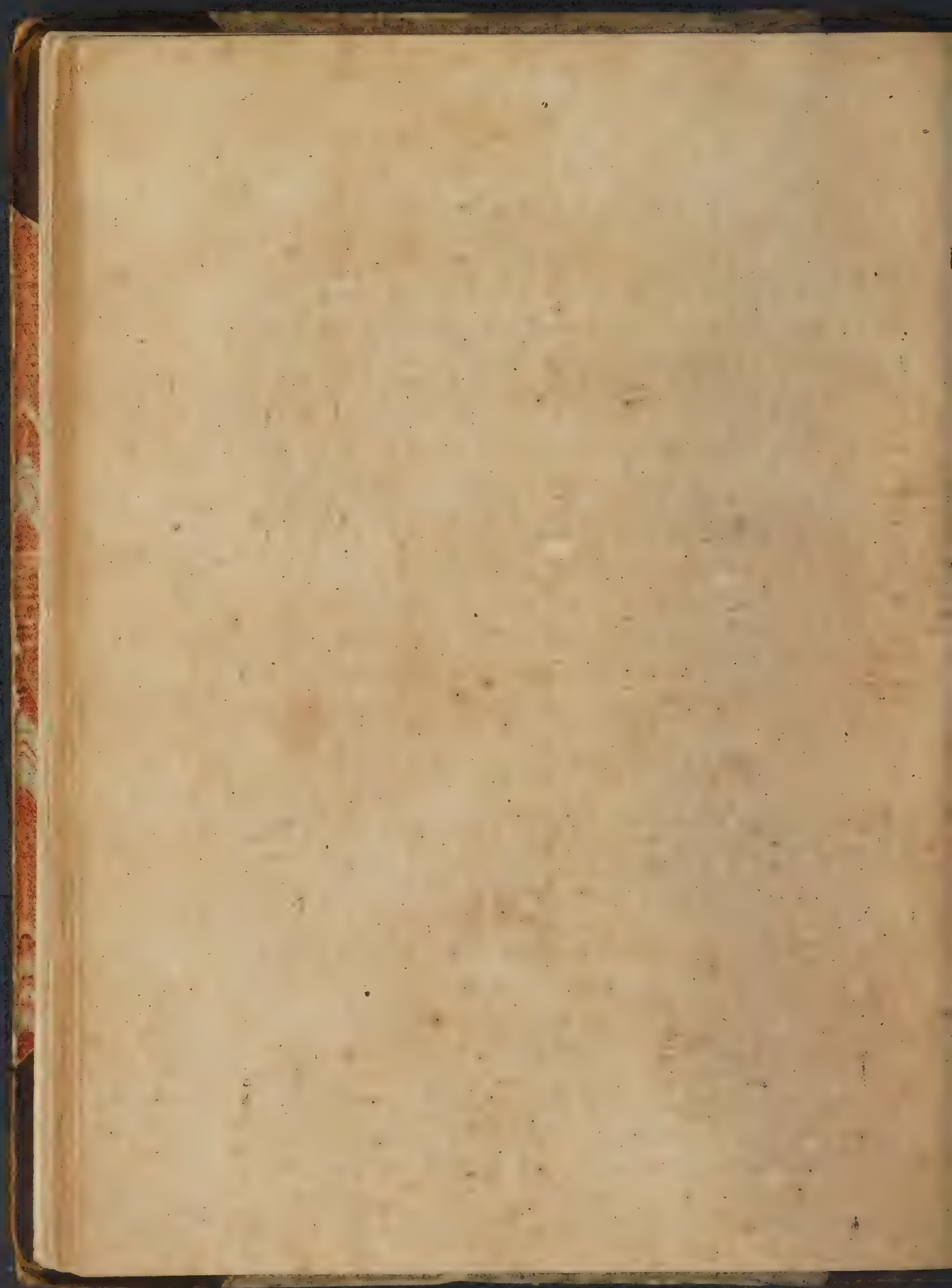
Advertisement.

IF the Publication of these Papers had not been delayed, they might perhaps have prevented the Attempts of a Weekly Scribler, who only repeats, what the Person of Quality had said in his Letter before : But as there is nothing worth the taking notice of in his Observations, so he may be sure that no Man will be at leisure to answer a Paper, which so few have the Patience to read.

E R R A T A.

PAg. 11. line penult r. *Subscript*: p. 26. l. 2. r. *Paper*: p. 28. l. 4. for *Throne* r. *Crown*: ibid. l. 32. r. *was*: p. 24. l. 12. from the bottom r. *unaccountable*: p. 26. Marg. three lines from the bottom r. *Manerent*: p. 34. l. 10. Marg. r. *estre*: p. 48. l. 4. for *of* r. *the*: p. 53. l. 3. r. *Convocation*.

F I N I S.



CHILLINGWORTH
NOVISSIMA.

OR, THE

Sicknesse, Heresy,
Death, and Buriall

OF

WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH

(In his own phrase) *Clerk of Oxford*, and in the
conceit of his fellow Souldiers, the *Queens*
Arch-Engineer, and *Grand-Intelligencer*.

SET FORTH IN

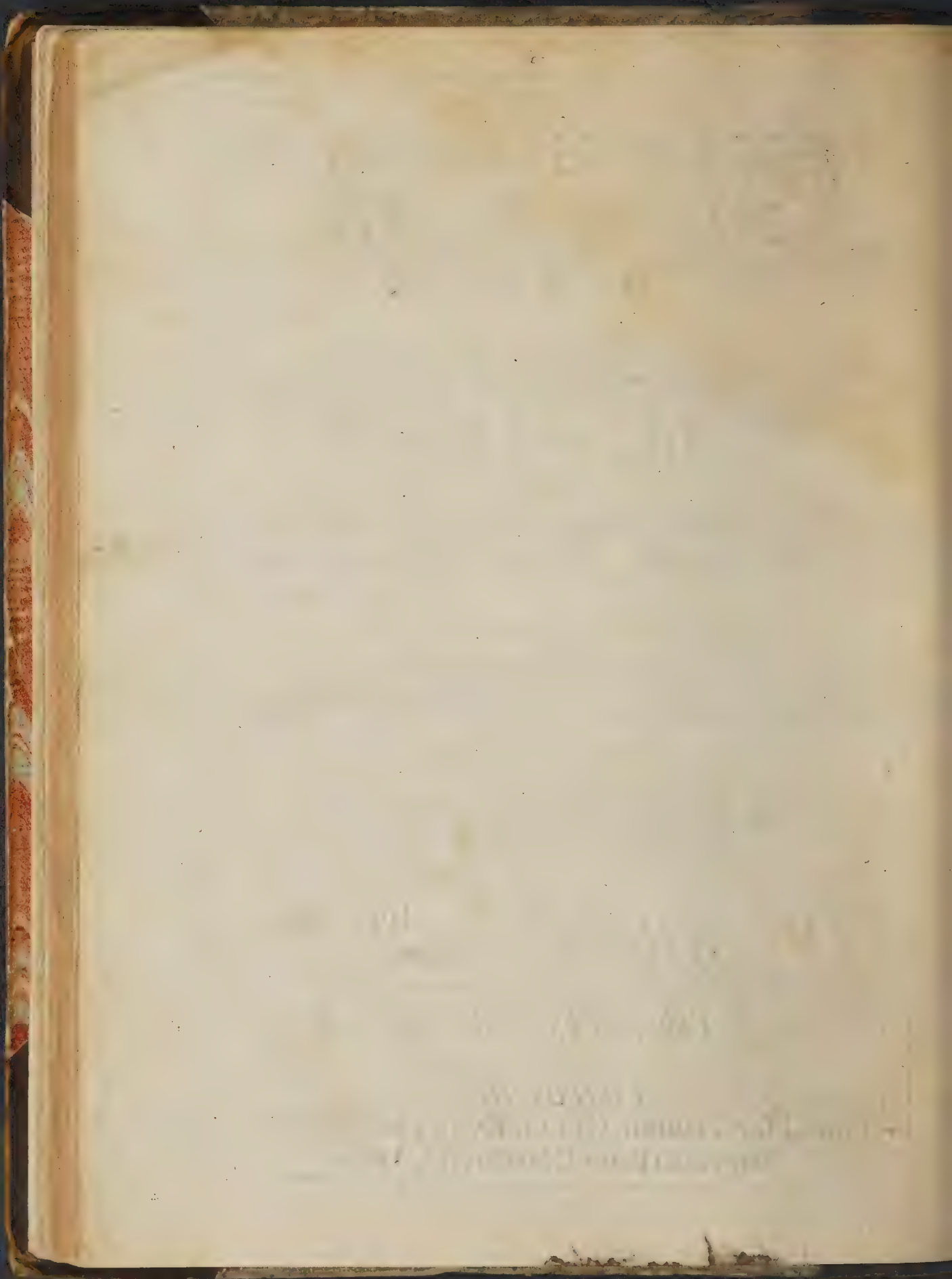
A Letter to his Eminent and learned Friends,
a Relation of his Apprehension at *Arundell*, a
Discovery of his Errours in a *Briefe Cate-*
chism, and a shorr Oration at the
Buriall of his Hereticall Book.

By FRANCIS CHEYNELL, late Fellow
of MERTON Colledge.

Published by Authority.

LONDON,

Printed for SAMUEL GELLIBRAND, at the Brazen
Serpent in Pauls Church-yard, 1644.





TO
THE LEARNED AND
EMINENT FRIENDS OF
Mr CHILLINGWORTH,

And in particular

TO

Sir JOHN CULPEPPER, Knight,

JOHN PRIDEAUX Bishop of Worcester,

FELL Deane of Christ-Church,

BAYLY Deane of Sarum,

Doctor < SHELDEN Warden of All-soules,

POTTER Provost of Queenes, and

MORLEY Canon of Christ-Church.

SIRS,

YOur deceased friend is not yet speechlesse, he calls
upon you to beware and repent; some preach more,
at least more practically, when they are dead, then
ever they did whilst they were alive. You that
were his Patrons and Encouragers, as hee ac-
knowledged ever, when he was in the heighth of his Rebellion, doe
you beware lest a worse thing come unto you. You that were
the Licencers of his subtile Atheisme, Repent, Repent; for he

Dr. Bayly,
Dr. Prideaux,
Dr. Fell.

A

was

A Letter to the Friends

was so hardened by your flattery, that (for ought the most charitable man can judge) hee perished by your Approbation: he ever appealed to his works even to his very dying day, and what was it, which made him dote upon them, but your Licence and Approbation? Heark what hee saith, The third and last part of my Accusation was, That I answer out of principles, which Protestants themselves will professe to detest: which indeed were to the purpose, if it could be justified. But besides that, it is confuted by my whole Book, and made ridiculous by the Approbation premised unto it, &c. read Mr Chillingworth his Preface to the Author of Charity &c. Sect. 30. Sure I am, that the Accusation may be justified, and therefore is to the purpose; but the Approbation cannot be justified, and is therefore justly Reprobated: The Accusation is so serious, that the Approbation cannot make it (but may well make the Approvers and their Church) ridiculous. O what a ridiculous Church doe the Licensers make the Church of England to be, by saying that there is nothing in Mr Chillingworth his Book contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England; sure they meant the Church of Canterbury. But Dr Fell, and Dr Bayly are not ashamed to say, that there is nothing in that Book contrary to good manners, which Dr Prideaux would not say; but enough of that.

Sirs, the following History will testifie my compassion towards your deceased friend, whom I ever opposed in a charitable and friendly way. I doe not account it any glory to trample upon the carcasse of Hector, or to pluck a dead Lion by the beard; should I misquote his Book, and make that error mine owne by a false citation, which I pretend to be his in an Accusation, you that were the unhappy Licensers of his Book would soone take me tripping. If you conceive that he deserved a more Honorable buriall, be pleased to answer my Reasons, and patronize his errors with all the learning Bodleyes Library can afford: or else study his Catechisme, pardon my boldnesse, some Courtiers never learnt, and some Dottours have forgot their Catechisme, or else this man we speak of had never beene so much admired, his Book extolled, or these Amichristian warres fomented

Νεχρὸν σῶμα
λέοντος ἐπιβρί-
ζουσι λαγυροί.

OF MR CHILLINGWORTH.

fomented by such great Clerks and busie wits.

I looked upon Mr Chillingworth as one who had his head as full of Scruples as it was of Engines, and therefore dealt as tenderly with him as I use to doe with men of the most nice and tender consciences: for I considered, that though Beefe must bee preserved with salt; yet Plums must be preserved with sugar. I can assure you I stooped as low to him as I could without falling, and you know he is not a wise man in the judgement of the Philosopher, who stoops so low to another mans weaknesse, that he himselfe falls into weaknesse: and it is a Rule with us at Westminster, that he falls into weaknesse who falls into sinne.

Doe not conceive that I snacht up my pen in an angry mood, that I might vent my dangerous wit, and ease my overbarthened spleene. No, no, I have almost forgot the Visitation at Merton Colledge, the Deniall of my Grace, the plundering of my house and little Library: I know when and where and of whom to demand satisfaction for all these injuries and indignities. I have learnt Centum plagas Spartanâ Nobilitate conquere. I have not yet learnt how to plunder others of goods or living, and make my selfe amends by force of armes. I will not take a living which belonged to any civill, studious, learned Delinquent, unlesse it be the much neglected Commendam of some Lordly Prelate condemned by the knowne Lawes of the Land, and the highest Court of the Kingdome for some offence of the first magnitude: I can, without straining my conscience, swallow such a gnat, a camel I should say, for every one of their Commendams hath a bunch upon its back, and may well make a bunch upon their conscience. I shall not trouble you with any long discourse about State matters, only you will give me leave to say what the Lacedemonian slave said, when he stood to be sold in the market; and one asked him what he was? I am ἐλεύθερος εἶμι.
(saith he) a Free man, and so am I, for though I have not taken Antidotum contra Cæsarem, yet I have taken Antidotum contra Tyrannidem. I could never yet stoop so low to the most tyrannicall Prelate as to cry Your humble Slave.

Sirs, we heare you have made a New Almanack at Oxford;

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and some conceive that you hold correspondence with all the fowre Planets, and that you have enticed the trusty Sunne from his Ecliptick line, and taught him to goe Retrograde. We wonder, I must tell you, that the Sunne never came into Libra, that Opinions, Protestations, Actions were seldome or never weighed in the ballance of the Sanctuary: and we wondered more, that Venus (I had almost forgot my Astronomy, and said Iuno) was shufled into Virgo's place, and the signe was in the Dogs head, when we did expect it in a more propitious place, the Lions heart. I remember that of Tertullian, Habet & Ecclesia dies Caniculares, the Church of Christ hath cause to complaine of Dog dayes; for the Dog doth not only shew his teeth; we heare him bark and feele him bite; we may in every month write the Dog dayes in capitall letters, nay you write them for us (so capitall are your crimes) in letters of blood. What is England become a Wildernesse? if it be not, why are so many wilde beasts suffered to goe loose and prey upon the zealous Protestants? for shame chaine up those beasts before the first of March: if shame work not, feare may, the same feare which falls upon the men of Northumberland, the feare of a Scottish Reformation: I will not listen at the doore of your Iunto to heare what newes, nor will I peepe into your pretended Parliament, no nor into Merton Colledge. for feare I should see some sights like those in the eighth of Ezekiel, some with their backs towards the Temple of the Lord, and their faces towards the East; and if I should look farther, one that is no Prophet tells me, that I may see greater abominations then these. Sir, I beseech you keepe downe your staffe: but if you will hold it up, as Eurybiades did, I must cry as Themistocles did, *πῆλαξόν τε ἀνυσσον δέ*, strike if you please; yet heare me, or at least heare what the Prophet saith to me, doth he not speak of you? Then hee said unto me, Haft thou seene this O sonne of man. Is it a light thing to the house of Iudah, that they commit the abominations which they commit here? for they have filled the Land with violence, and have returned to provoke me to anger: and lo they put their branch to their nose. Therefore ——— read and tremble at the rest. Come, come away

Ezek. 8. 16.

Ezek. 8. 17. 18.

of Mr CHILLINGWORTH.

away with this learned Atheisme, your Iudge looks upon you, the searcher of hearts and discoverer of secrets is acquainted with all your plots. The Lord sees what the Ancients of Oxford doe in the dark, every man in the chambers of his imagery: the Lord heares what you say ——— O doe not say as the Ancients of Israel said, The Lord seeth us not, the Lord hath forsaken the earth. I am afraid that you have the same temptations at Oxford, which were presented to Origen, an Ethiopian woman, and an Idoll; he was (you know) put to this unhappy choice, to commit folly with which he pleased. Some lust as much after idols, as others doe after women; if in these dayes of liberty you restraints from neither, you doe in effect tempt to both, and are the grand seducers of the hopefull Gentry: but alas you are guilty of a more ambitious wickednesse, it is your study to seduce a King.

I remember an old story of King Canutus, who (as the Chronicler relates) took off the Crowne from his owne head, and set it upon the Crucifixe at Westminster: But tell me you that have read some Italian Jesuite more subtile then the Politicians Saint, Saint Machiavel) doe you conceive that you can perswade our King to take off his Crowne from his owne head, and place it upon your idoll the Queene, or her idoll the Crucifixe, at Oxford? We have none at Westminster. Well, plot on my Masters, and walke in the light and warmth of that fire which you have kindled; but heare what the Prophet saith, Behold all you that kin- Isa. 50. ult.
dle a fire, and compasse about your selves with sparkes, walke in the light of your fire, and in the sparks which you have kindled; This shall ye have of mine hand, ye shall lye downe in sorrow. Pardon our just feare, if we dare not say a confederacy to all those Welch Atheists, Irish Rebels, bloudy Papists of the French or Spanish faction, to whom you say, A confederacy; Associate your selves together (you know what followes) take counsell together (in your pretended Parliament) and it will be Isa. 8. 2, 10.
brought to nought, enact and pronounce a decree, imagine mischiefes as a Law, yet you shall not prosper, for God is with us. I know you urge the 13 to the Romanes, to justifie your royall cruelty; but you know what Chrysostome, and many others, have

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said upon that place: But I shall onely aske you one question (with which I stopped your friend Chillingworths mouth) be pleased to answer it: Doe you beleeve that Tyrannie is Gods ordinance? I ever held it a violation of Gods ordinance: and whether the supreme Judicatory of the Kingdome may not repell that force with force, which would violate Gods ordinance, judge ye; for it is absurd to talke, as Doctor Ferne doth, of a morall restraint in such a case. Sure I am, the Parliament hath power to raise an Army to preserve Gods ordinance inviolable, when it cannot be preserved by any other meanes: They doe certainly resist Gods ordinance who seeke to violate it; You endeavour to violate it, We to preserve it; who is in the fault?

Vbi jus humanum, naturale vel divinum, auctoritate preiudicat, ibi iuris auctoritas intervenit, etiam si expressa voluntas principis non accedat. Biel. 4.

Sent. q. 4.

Dr Ferne his 2. book p. 33.

Dr Ferne ib. p. 27

Dr Ferne 2. book p. 5.

I have examined your great Champion Doctor Ferne his three bookes, and cannot finde any thing in them, whereby the conscience of an impartiall Scholar may be fully resolved or satisfied. It is very impertinent, in my weake judgement, to talke of the priviledges of the Kings of Judah, who were immediately elected by God; or to discourse of the power of the Romane Emperour, or the first draughts of Government in the Saxon and Norman lines; for Doctor Ferne doth acknowledge that it is not injurious to his Majesties posterity, that the King sweares to a limited power, a power limited by priviledges and immunities, granted, or restored to the people since the conquest; which priviledges grants, liberties, though not originall, yet are they irrevocable. Doctor Ferne distinguishes betwene the Title of the King, and the Power of the King; but wee did never so much as once question his Majesties Title, whether it be limited or no? It is confessed that his power, and therefore much more the exercise of his power, is limited by the Priviledges of the Parliament, the immunities of the Subject, and the Kings owne oath: Nay, it is acknowledged that the two houses of Parliament are in a sort co-ordinate with his Majesty, to some act or exercising of the supreme power, by a fundamentall constitution Truly here is, in my judgement, so much granted, that the rest need not be disputed. But what if these powers be divided, and clash one against the other? why then the power is not fully in King or Parliament, for the power which is in the three Estates is suspended, whilest one part suspends:

OF MR CHILLINGWORTH.

suspends: So Doctor Ferne. Give me leave to aske him, and you, Book 2. p. 24.
whether the power of the Militia be not in the three Estates, as well as the power of making Lawes? if it be not, then sure the power of making Lawes is to no purpose, because they have no power to defend or enforce Law: and if the power of the Militia be in the three Estates, then the Kings power of levying, arming men, &c. is suspended by the severall Ordinances of Parliament; for it is Doctor Fernes conclusion, that the power which is in the three Estates is suspended whilst one part suspends; Ergo, much more if two Estates suspend.

But on the other side, I desire Doctor Ferne to shew how the Kingdome is secured by the government of three Estates, if the two houses of Parliament have not sufficient power to preserve the King and the Kingdome, in case the King refuse to preserve it or him. It is unreasonable (saith Doctor Ferne) that the supply should be made by the body onely, without the head: nay rather, Doctor, it is unreasonable for the Head to neglect the preservation of it selfe, and the body; but it is very reasonable for to lift up both armes, to defend the head, and the who'e body; and therefore reasonable for both houses to take up armes, and lift up their armes, put forth their whole strength to defend the King and themselves. Doctor Ferne talks of a Fundamentall constitution, self
Book 2. p. 28.
which hath provided this temper of three Estates, as the reasonable meanes of our safety. But I must confesse, that it cannot enter into my dull pate to conceive, that our Government is of any settled temper; or that we have any reasonable meanes provided for the safety of this Kingdome, by that fundamentall constitution, if the King may doe what he pleases, seize on our goods, ('tis Doctor Fernes supposition) imprison our persons, kill us outright, and (which is worse) overthrow our Lawes, our liberties, our Religion, and all at once, and by consequence enslave not onely the bodies, but the consciences of our posterity; and there is no more power in both houses of Parliament to protect us by force against force, then if we had no such remedy provided, as the government of three Estates. Are we not subjected to an absolute Monarch, if the other two Estates have no legall power to releev our neglected or oppressed Common-wealth? how are we secured by the
Book 2. p. 6.
temper

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temper of three Estates? or how can it be called a temper? or a temper of three Estates? if the first of the three may oppresse us, and the other two have no power to relieve us? Sure I am, that by this account there is but one Estatethat hath a true power, and therefore that Estate must be an estate of absolute Monarchy; which Dr Ferne himselſe ſeemes to abhorre; and yet ſo vaine is that Doctor, as to call the Power of Supply legally placed in both Houſes of Parliament, a Conceit, nay a vaine Conceit; his words are theſe; The Conceit of Supply by the two Houſes in caſe the King reſuſe (to preſerue the Kingdome) is a vaine Conceit: and if that be true, then I muſt conclude, that this provision of a Temper of three Estates is no Temper, no provision, two of the Estates are no Estates; or elſe this provision is in the phraſe of Doctor Ferne, a lame provision, which argues the firſt contrivement of our Anceſtors very inconfiderate; becauſe then it followes, that there is no Reaſonable Meane of ſafety provided for this Kingdome by that Fundamentall Conſtitution which provided this Temper of three Estates, ſo the Doctor loves to call it, though he make one Estate ſo predominant, that as there is no Temperamentum ad pondus, ſo there will bee no Temperamentum ad juſtitiam neither by his conceit. How ſay you Sir John, are not you of my perſuaſion, or are you aſhamed to tread in the ſteppes of your learned Countrey-man? The Lord open your eyes, and cleare your eye-ſight; you are naturally ſharp-ſighted, but if your eye look red or yellow, you know your diſeaſe by the ſymptome. It ſhall be my prayer, that your eye may neither be dimme nor blood-ſhotten.

2 Book p. 28.

Ib. ubi ſupra.

2 Bo k p. 16.

Judg. 9. 24.

* Ac ne maledicis verborum in eos uti conviciis arguamur cauſam perditionis publicæ ne cuiquam ignota ſit non taceamus, Hilar. contra Arian p. 214

Conſider that the blood of the 70 was laid upon Abimelech their brother who ſlew them, and upon the men of Shechem, which had ayded him by ſtrengthening his hands to kill his brethren. Whether you have ſtrengthened their hands who ſlew their Brethren, only for being too zealous in the maintenance of that Religion which you profeſſe, I appeale to God, your Conſcience, and the evidence of the fact. If you have dealt truly and ſincerely with this * Reforming Parliament, nay with your owne party, rejoyce and flatter your ſelves with

of Mr CHILLINGWORTH.

with hope of a desired successe; but if not, then take heed the curse of Iotham doe not fall upon you: there may be an evill spirit sent between the Irish and English, the French and Spanish factions; nay, fire may come out from the Queen and consume the Prelates, and fire from the Prelates and consume the Papists; or else there may come a fire from the North, a fire to purge and refine, not to destroy; which is my prayer, and will be your happinesse.

Iudg. 9. 19, 20, 23 and 57 ver. scs.

I will not hold you any longer upon the racke: Learne the first lesson of Christianity, Self-deniall; deny your owne will, and submit your selves to Gods; deny your reason, and submit to faith: Reason tells you that there are some things above reason, and you cannot be so unreasonable as to make reason judge of those things which are above reason: Remember that Master Chillingworth (your friend) did runne mad with reason, and so lost his reason and religion both at once: hee thought he might trust his reason in the highest points; his reason was to be Iudge, whether or no there be a God? Whether that God wrote any Booke? Whether the bookes usually received as Canonicall be the bookes, the Scriptures of God? What is the sense of those books? What Religion is best? What Church purest? Come, doe not wrangle, but beleieve, and obey your God, and then I shall be encouraged to subscribe my selfe

Your Friend and Servant,

FRANCIS CHEYNELL.

B

A brieffe



A brieft and plaine Relation of Mr
Chillingworths Sickneffe, Death, and
Buriall: together with a juſt Censure of his
works, by a Diſcovery of his Errours collected out
of his Book, and framed into a kinde of *A-*
theiſticall Catechiſme, fit for *Racovia*
or *Cracovia*:

And may well ſerve for the inſtruction of
the *Irish, welch, Dutch, French, Spaniſh Army*
in *England*, and eſpecially for the *Black*
Regiment at *Oxford*.



Am very religious in obſerving that old
proverbe, if it be taken in its right ſenſe,
Nothing is to be ſpoken of the dead but good.
If that be true which *Quintilian* ſaith, *ad-*
verſus miſeros (I may better ſay *adverſus*
mortuos inhumanus eſt jocus; that man is void
of humanity who makes ſport with the dead.

Mr *Chillingworth* was looked upon by me at the firſt ſight as a
conquered man, and therefore I was not only *civill*, but (as he
confeſſed) *charitable* unto him: and now he is dead, I cannot
deale with him as ^a *Aſinius Pollio* did with *Plancus*, ſet forth
^a *Nec Plancus illepidè, cum di-*
ceretur Aſinius Pollio orationes
in eum parare quæ poſt mortem Planci ederentur ne reſpondere poſſet, cum mortuis non
nifi larvas luctari; quo apud eruditos nihil impudentius judicatur. Plin. Præfat. Hiſt.
Natural.

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an Oration to which no answer is to be expected, unlesse according to the desire of *Saul* or *Dives*, a messenger should arise from the dead to give me an answer as full of terrour as satisfaction. It is no glory to triumph over one that is conquered, nay dead; for that of the Poet is true,

*Nullum cum victis certamen * & athere cassis.*

* Scilicet esse
opertes.

But I consider, that Mr *Chillingworths* party is alive, though he be dead; and though one of his Books is buried, there are many hundred Copies divulged; and therefore though I speak not of his humane frailties, or personall infirmities, and imperfections, which died with him; yet I may speak of his Hereticall Book, and of some destructive policies he used, which doe yet survive in their sad and lamentable effects. Iudge what I say, put the case a man commits notorious crimes scandalously, because publicquely, and doth not only hold, but vent damnable heresies; and vent them not only in the Pulpit, but in the Presse; shall not his damnable heresies and printed heresies be confuted after his death? shall thousands be seduced and perish, and all Orthodox Divines silenced with that one Proverb, *Nothing is to be spoken of the dead but good*? Nay, put the case further yet, suppose a man hath had his head full of powder-plots, and his heart full of bloody desires, nay hath been a Ring-leader, and Encourager of others to bloody praetises against the very light of nature as well as Scripture; must nothing be said of such a man when he is gone, but good?

Mr *Chillingworth* and I met in *Sussex* by an unexpected providence: I was driven from my owne house by force of Armes, only (as the Cavaliers confessed) because I was nominated to be a Member of the Assembly: and when I heard that my Living was bestowed upon a Doctor (who if some *Cambridge-men* deceive me not, became the *stage* farre better then he doth the *Pulpit*) I resolved to exercise my Ministry in *Sussex* amongst my friends, in a place where there hath been little of the power of Religion either known

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or practised. About the latter end of *November* I travelled from *London* to *Chichester*, according to my usuall custome, to observe the monthly Fast; and in my passage with a thankful heart I shall ever acknowledge it, I was guarded by a Convoy of 16 Souldiers, who faced about 200 of the enemies forces, and put them all to flight. Upon the twelfth of *December* I visited a brave Souldier of my acquaintance, Captain *James Temple*, who did that day defend the Fort at *Bramber* against a bold daring enemy, to the wonder of all the countrey: and I did not marvell at it, for he is a man that hath his head full of stratagems, his heart full of piety and valour, and his hand as full of successe as it is of dexterity: My gratefull pen might well run on in his commendation, to the eternall shame of those who have been ungratefull to him, to whom they doe (under God) owe their preservation. But I intend not to defraud others of their deserved praise, who were present at that fierce encounter. There was present Colonell *Harbert Morley*, a Gentleman of a nimble apprehension & vigilant spirit; but the *Cavaliers* were kept at such a distance, that they never put the Colonels Regiment of horse to any trouble. There was present likewise Captaine *Henry Carleton*, the Antiprelaticall sonne of a learned Prelate, a man of a bold presence and fixed resolution, who loves his country better then his life. Captain *Simon Everden* was there also, a man of slow speech, but sure performance, who deserves that Motto of the old *Romane*, *Non tam facile loquor, quam quod locutus sum praesto*. You cannot expect that I should name all the rest of the Commanders: But there were (you see) some difficulties in my way, which seemed insuperable, and yet the Lord of Hosts did bring me thorow these difficulties safe from *Bramber* to *Arundell*, upon the 21 day of *December*, if I forget not. Master *Chillingworth* was at that time in *Arundell* Castle, which was surrendred to the much renowned Commander Sir *William Waller*, Serjeant-Major-generall of all the associated Counties in the East and West, upon the sixt of *January*. As soone as the Castle was surrendred, I represented Master *Chillingworths* condition to Sir *William Waller*, who commended him to the care of his worthy Chaplaine; and

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and his Chaplaine shewed so much charity and respect towards him, that he laid him upon his owne bed, and supplied him with all necessaries which the place did afford. When the rest of the Prisoners were sent up to *London*, Master *Chillingworth* made it evident to me, that he was not able to endure so long a journey; and if he had been put to it, he had certainly died by the way: I desired therefore that his journey might bee shortred, and upon my humble motion he was sent to *Chichester*, where I intreated the *Governour* that he might be secured by some Officer of his acquaintance, and not put into the hands of the *Marshall*; the *Governour* gave order that Lievtenant *Golledge* should take charge of him, and placed him in the Bishop of *Chichesters* Palace, where he had very courteous utage, and all accommodations which were requisite for a sick man, as appeares by the testimony of his owne man at *Oxford*, and a Letter of thankfull acknowledgment from Master *Chillingworths* father to Lievtenant *Golledge*: nay, by Master *Chillingworths* Codicill, which hee desired should be annexed to his Will, in which he gave 10 li. to Captaine *King*, 10 li. to Mistrresse *Mason*, who keepes the Bishops house, and attended Master *Chillingworth* in his sicknesse, and 10 li. to Lievtenant *Golledge*: And it may further appeare by a Letter of Captaine *Kings* sent to *Oxford*, and the testimony of Master *Edmonds*, his Apothecary; both which are as followes.

Captaine *Kings* Letter sent to Mr *Walter Jones*, one
of the Chaplains of *Christ-Church* in
Oxford, Jan. 23.

Kind friend,

After *Chillingworth* was in so weake a condition, by reason of a violent fluxe, that I perswade my selfe hee could not have lived the first night of his journey, had he gone farther; for it was very tedious to him to be brought hither. He lyes very ill, and (for ought I perceive) in a desperate condition; and how God may dispose of him we know not: if any of his friends have a pur-

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pose to come into these parts, they shall have free passage without any molestation. Lieuttenant Golledge performs the part of a reall friend in every kinde; neither is Christobell wanting in her best care and diligence. Lieuttenant Golledge hath already disburs't 10 li. or thereabout: It would not be amisse that some of Master Chillingworths friends were present with him, whilest there is some hope of life; for it will be a great satisfaction both to him and others: There must be no delays either of time or money.

I heare that Master Chillingworths Sister, whom hee hath made Executrix, is travelling with child, and therefore unfit for travell, but he is very confident she will not let him want for necessary supplies whilest he lives, and that hee may have decent buriall (befitting one of his merit) if it pleaseth God he chance to dye. Among other of his friends, I pray acquaint Doctor Shelden, the Warden of All-soules, with what is written, whom Master Chillingworth doth very highly esteem.

From Chichester
Jan. 23.

Your very affectionate friend,

Robert King.

The testimony of Master Edmonds.

A Friend standing by him, desired him to declare himselfe in point of Religion, for two reasons: first, Because the Iesuites had much defamed and traduced him in that particular: secondly, Because he might be able to give an account to his friends, in case he should survive. He answered, he had declared himselfe already in that point sufficiently to the world. His friend told him, that there went abroad some hard opinions that he had of Iesus Christ, and wisht him to deale candidly and plainly to the world in that point. He answered, for those things he was settled and resolved, and therefore did not desire to be further troubled. Being demanded, what course should be taken for his interment, in case God should take him away in this place; he replied, that where ever God should please to take him, he would there be interred;

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terred; and (if it might be obtained) according to the custome of the Church of England; if not, the Lords will be done. And further (said hee) because the world will be apt to surmise the worst of things, and there may be some inquiry made after my usage in this place, I must testifie and declare to all the world, that I have received both of Master Colledge and his wife, abundance of love, care, and tenderesse, where I deserved it not; and that I have wanted nothing which might be desired of them: and I must in all conscience and honesty doe them this right, to testifie the truth to the world: or to that effect.

Anthony Edmonds.

And for my part, I beleeeve that in the course of nature hee might have recovered, had he not neglected and distrustted an able Doctor (who freely offered himselfe) onely because hee was Physician to Sir *William Waller*; sure I am that jealousie was more deadly then his disease. Yet Master *Chillingworth* did, when it was too late, discover and confesse his errour, and we perswaded the Doctor to visit him afterwards, and he was in an hopefull way of recovery: but then his spirit was much dejected, because his friends neglected, or delayed, to send him some good newes from *Oxford*: his heart was so set upon his releafe, and his head was still working and projecting, how he might be exchanged, or ransomed; and therefore certainly the Newes of his friends active endeavours for his releafe, was the *only Cordiall* which could possibly revive his spirits; and for want of such a Cordiall his heart was even dead within him before he died. I entreated him to plucke up his spirits, and not to yeeld to his disease; but I perceived, that though Reason be stout when it encounters with faith, yet reason is not so valiant when it is to encounter with affliction: and I cannot but observe, that many a Parliament-souldier hath been more chearfull in a prison, then this discoursing Engineer, and learned Captive was in a Palace: Beleeve it, Reader, beleeve it, that neither gifts, nor parts, nor profession, nor any thing else but faith, will sustaine the spirit of a man in spirituall straits and worldly encombrances, when without there are fightings, and within there are fears.

Another

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Another reason there was, which (as I conceive) was very destructive to this *Man of Reason*; he was disrelished, and (I beleeve) abused by most of the great Officers who were taken Prisoners in *Arundell-castle*; they looked upon him as an intruder into their councells of warre, and (as one of them whispered) the *Queens intelligencer*, who was set as a Spie over them and all their proceedings. When Major *Molins* came to treat, hee spake very coldly for Master *Chillingworth*; and a greater Commander then he, told me, that they were bound to curse *that little Priest* to the pit of hell, for he had been the ruine of them all: I replied in his behalfe, that I wondered much that they should make so weake an Apology, for I could not beleeve that Master *Chillingworths* single Vote could turn their Councell of warre round, and make them giddy: The ingenious Gentleman made use of the liberty of his judgement, and replied; "Sir, Master *Chillingworth* hath so much credit "at the Court, and the Court-councell hath so much influence "into our military Councell, that we were even over-awed, "and durst not contradict Master *Chillingworth*, for feare lest "our owne resolutions might succeed ill, and then his counsell "would have been esteemed the berter. I told the Gentleman, that I thought Master *Chillingworth* wanted experience for the ordering of military affaires, and therefore could not well apply the generall rules of reason aright, and bring them downe to practise in cases which were difficult, because unusuall. The Gentleman replied, "Sir, Master *Chillingworth* is "so confident of his great wit and parts, that hee conceives "himselfe able to manage martiall affaires, in which hee hath "no experience, by the strength of his owne wit and reason: Sir (quoth I) you may forgive him, for though I hope to bee *saved by faith*, yet Master *Chillingworth* hopes that a man may be *saved by reason*, and therefore you may well give him leave to fight by reason. Sir (saith that witty Gentleman) I confesse it is a sad objection, which I know not how to answer; and so in stead of an answer we went to dinner. But I did examine the businesse impartially afterwards, and perceive that these great Commanders have grossely abused Master *Chillingworth*,

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worth, in laying all the blame upon him, as if he were guilty of losing the out-workes, the Towne, the Castle, and all; and therefore I shall doe Master *Chillingworth* so much right, as to offer some considerations, which may tend to his excute or vindication: For what though Master *Chillingworth* were the grand-Engineer at *Glocester* and *Arundel*, and both projects failed, the fault might be in the Officers and Souldiers, and not in the Engineer: Put the case the Lord *Hopton*, Baron of *Sratton*, Field-Marshal-general of the West, promise to bring three thousand men, and the Engineer make a line of Communication which cannot be defended with fewer then two thousand; but the field-Marshal doth in the mean time forget himselfe, and quarter his men in three or foure Maniples; but his enemy being a more *wary and prudent Commander*, keeps his men in a contracted and compact body, which is too strong for the best of his Maniples, and falls upon one of the field-Marshals Quarters, takes and kills neare upon a thousand men, and the field-Marshal by such an unexpected blow is utterly disabled for the fulfilling of his promise, of sending three thousand, nay is not able to send above 1500 men: shall the Engineer or the field-Marshal be blamed in such a case?

Nay, what if the enemy advance before the Engineer hath quite finished his workes? yet if he hath made them defensible against any sudden onset, and the Souldiers, which should defend the works, quit their Trenches, and runne all away, before any one man be slaine in the Trenches, shall the Engineere be blamed in such a case, or the Souldiers, who were stricken with feare when there was no considerable cause of feare?

Finally, if the Lord of Hosts, who did strike a terrour to the very heart of the Souldiers, doe shew himselfe a God of wisdom, and infatuate the counsels of the grand *Achitophels*; nay, shew himselfe a sin-revenging God, and smite the Souldiers in the Castle with deadly diseases, *with one Pox more then they carried in with them, with the Flux, the Calenture, the spotted Feaver, and the like*: if in the midst of these distresses the Souldiers breake forth into a *mutinous flame*, and set all their fellowes in a combustion, must the Engineer bee blamed if the

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Castle be surrendred in such a case? Now I appeale to their Councell of Warre, whether their case were not so like to these cases which have beene put, that it is hard to say wherein they differed. Let not then Master *Chillingworth* be charged with more faults then he was guilty of; I cannot but vindicate his reputation from all false aspersions, which are cast upon him by some who know not how to excuse themselves: I tooke all the care I could of his body whilest he was sicke, and will (as farre as he was innocent) take care of his fame and reputation now he is dead: nay, whilest he was alive, I tooke care of something more precious then his health or reputation, to wit, his precious and beloved soule; for in compassion to his soule I dealt freely and plainly with him, and told him that he had been very active in fomenting these bloody warres against the Parliament and Common-wealth of England, his naturall countrey, and by consequent, against the very light of nature: "I acknowledge (saith he) that I have beene active in these warres, but I have ever followed the dictates of my conscience; and if you convince me that I am in an error, you shall not finde me obstinate. I told him, I conceived that he might want sleep, being at that time newly come out of the Castle, and therefore I gave him time to refresh himselfe: and when I came to him againe, I asked him whether he was fit for discourse; he told me, yes, but somewhat faintly: I certified him, that I did not desire to take him at the lowest, when his spirits were flatted, and his reason disturbed, but had much rather undertake him when he was at the highest, because I came prepared to receive satisfaction, and looked upon my selfe as unlikely to give satisfaction to one, whom I acknowledged so much above mee, in regard of his parts, gifts, experience; he having studied bookes and men, and more accurately discussed that question of State then ever I had done. He then told me, that he was pretty well refreshed, and as able (as he used to be in these times of distraction) for any discourse about that great controversie of State. He desired me to begin: I satisfied his desire, and told him that it would be very requisite in the first place to state the Question aright; for (as I conceived) many

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many ingenious men were grossely mistaken even in the very state of the Question.

First then be pleased (quoth I) to consider, that *the originall difference was not between the King and the Parliament*, but between the *Parliament and Delinquents*; and indeed, betweene the *Queen and the Parliament*: I told him, that hee could not be ignorant that upon the fourth of *January*, two yeares agoe, *the King went unto the Parliament upon the Queens errand*; and I beleevd that he knew better then I, how much *the Queen was discontented, because her bloody designe was not put in execution*: He told me, *that he could not deny it, and he would not excuse it*. When I was going on to discourse about other matters of fact, he confessed very honestly, that he did now perceive, *that they had no certaine information of matters of fact at Oxford*: whereby I perceived that it was no wonder that so many brave men were seduced to fight against the Parliament.

Vpon further discourse, he told me that he observed a great deale of piety in the Commanders and Souldiers of the Parliaments Army: "I confesse (saith he) their discourse and behaviour doth speake them Christians, but I can finde little of "God or godlinesse in our men; they will not seeke God "whilest they are in their bravery, nor trust him when they are "in distresse; I have much adoe (saith he) to bring them up "on their knees, to call upon God, or to resigne themselves up "to God, when they goe on upon any desperate service, or are "cast into any perplexed condition. I liked him well, when I heard him run on so fluently to this effect, and I closed with him, and desired him to tell me freely, whether in good earnest he thought the Parliament did intend any thing else then the *taking of the wicked from before the King, the establishing of the Kings throne in justice, the setting up of Christs ordinances in power, purity, liberty, and the setting of the knowne lawes of the land, the priviledges of the Parliament, and liberties of the subjects, in quiet and peace.*

"Sir (saith he) I must acknowledge that I doe verily believe that the intentions of the Parliament are better then "the intentions of the Court, or of that Army which I have

"followed;

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“ followed ; but I conceive that the Parliament takes a wrong
“ course to prosecute and accomplish their good intentions ;
“ for warre is not the way of Iesus Christ.

Truely I was ashamed to dispute with him any longer, when he had given me so much advantage : For first, he clearly condemned himselfe for being confederate with them, whose intentions were destructive ; because no man must promote an ill designe by any meanes whatsoever, be they never so lawfull. Secondly, he confessed himselfe cleane out of his way when he was in Armes ; for warre, saith he, (and he learnt to say so of the *Anabaptists* and *Socinians*) is not the way of Iesus Christ ; all that he could say for himselfe was, that he had no command in the Army ; and yet their greatest Officers told me, that in a true construction there was no man else that had a command to any purpose, but Master *Chillingworth*. And as touching their intentions, it is no hard matter to guesse at the intentions of the French and Spanish faction at Court, or the *Irish intentions of the Papists, Prelates, Delinquents, &c. that follow the Queens Army*. I am sure one of the Captains that was taken Prisoner at *Arundell*, had a Spanish head, a French nose, and an Irish heart : And there was a Letter found in *Arundell-Castle*, which was directed to Master *Beckingham*, the Earle of *Arundels* Receiver, which doth declare the good intentions of the *Queens Army*. I took a copy of it, which I will here transcribe word for word.

Good Mr *Beckingham*,
I Doubt not but you are acquainted with the generall and voluntary contribution of the whole Catholikes of this Kingdome, both to declare the true affection of their hearts towards his Majesty, in this, as in all other occasions : as also to exhibite such aid as their estates doe afford, to assist his Majesty in this present businesse, which doth concerne each one in particular.

The monies which the Catholikes are to give, must be presented this Terme, and therefore I entreat you that you will be pleased that what your liberality will bestow in so good a cause, you will cause it to be delivered to me in London, and I shall give (an account

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count thereof to such as it doth concern, and) you a sufficient discharge.

The subscription and name was torne away.

I need not make any observations upon this Letter, it speaks for it selfe; and it speaks so bad English, and such perfect policy, that I beleieve the man that writ it was no Englishman borne.

There was a Commission found there likewise (which doth declare their good intentions) directed to Sir *Edward Ford*, &c. to secure the persons of all men in *Sussex*, who had contributed to the Parliament, and to seize their estates, and sell their goods to the utmost value, for the best advantage of his Majesty; and the Commissioners were to give an account of their service to the field-Marshal Generall, Baron of Stratten, Commander in chiefe of all his Majesties forces in *Surrey*, *Sussex*, *Kent*, &c. Now their intentions are as you see: And as touching the meanes used, Master *Chillingworth* himself would not say that the Queen and her adherents, Prelates, Papists, Delinquents, Malignants, of the French conspiracy, the *Spanish* faction, or the *Irish* Rebellion, and their confederates, doe take better courses, and use more lawfull meanes to accomplish their intentions, and bring about their designs, then the Parliament of *England*, the Kingdome of *Scotland*, and the Protestants in *Ireland*: since then Master *Chillingworth* did (as all ingenuous and active spirits doe) detest Neutrality, hee might have seene (for hee had light enough to see) the way of *Jesus Christ*.

I desired him to tell me, whether the highest Court of justice in the Kingdome may not compell Delinquents (who are protected by force against Law) to come in by force of Armes, that they may be tryed according to Law?

First, hee acknowledged that the Parliament is the highest Court; and therefore (I conclude) not to be controlled by some few of the Kings Councill, or by a pretended Assembly, consisting of Fugitives and Delinquents. Secondly, saith he, I must deale plainly with you, though the Parliament hath

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voted some to be Delinquents, and the Queen her selfe to be a Traitor, yet I doe not beleeeve that their judgement is infallible. I was able to answer him out of his owne booke, that *the judgment of a Court or person (especially where there is evidence of the fact) may be certaine, though that Court or person be not infallible*: Secondly, though the judgment of the highest Court be not *infallible*, yet *it is finall, and therefore we cannot appeale from the judgement of the Parliament, to any Court, but the Court of heaven*. True, (saith Master Chillingworth) but this is it which stickes with me, that there is no fundamentall constitution for the government of this Kingdome *by a standing Parliament*: To which I had many answers to returne; first, there is a fundamentall constitution for the government of this Kingdome by the three Estates: secondly, there is a Law for the frequency of Parliaments: and thirdly, the vertue and strength of every Parliament continues in the Acts of every Parliament, by which the Kingdome is governed, even after the dissolution of that Parliament; every Parliament doth live in its unrepealed Acts, and therefore lives even after its dissolution; and in that respect wee have many Parliaments yet standing; *some old Elisabeth-Parliaments doe as yet live, breath, move, and operate, with strength and vigour*: fourthly, there is an Act passed for the continuance of this Parliament, by the unanimous consent of all three Estates; *and the Kings Councill could not find any other probable meanes under heaven for the disengaging of his Majesty, then the framing and passing of that Act of continuance*. Master Chillingworth (putting off his hat) cryed, I acknowledge that Act with all reverence, and *there is your strength*. He seemed pretty well satisfied with that answer; and as touching *the way of Jesus Christ*, I desired to know whether the Saints were not to make warre against the Whore and the Beast? Whether it be not an act of charity, for Protestants to lay downe their lives for their Brethren? Whether it be not an act of faith, to waxe valiant in fight for the defence of that faith, which was once delivered to the Saints? I perceived my Gentleman somewhat puzzled, and I tooke my leave, that he might take his rest.

My

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My heart was moved with compassion towards him, and I gave him many visits after this first visit; but I seldome found him in fit case to discourse, because his disease grew stronger and stronger, and he weaker and weaker: I desired to know his opinion concerning that *Liturgy* which hath beene formerly so much extolled, and even idolized amongst the people; but all the answer that I could get was to this purpose, that *there were some truths which the Ministers of the Gospel are not bound upon paine of damnation to publish to the people:* and indeed he conceived it very unfit to publish any thing concerning the Common-Prayer-Book, or the Book of Ordination, &c. *for feare of scandall.* I was sorry to heare such an answer drop from a dying man, and I conceived it could not but be much more scandalous, to seduce or hoodwink the people, then to instruct and edifie them in a point which did *directly concerne the publike worship of God in this Land.*

When I found him pretty hearty one day, I desired him to tell me, *whether he conceived that a man living and dying a Turk, Papist, or Socinian, could be saved?*

All the answer that I could gaine from him was, *that he did not absolve them, and would not condemn them.* I was much displeased with the answer upon divers reasons: First, because the question was put home, of a man living and dying, so or so. Secondly, it was frivolous to talk of Absolution, for it was out of question that he could not absolve them. Thirdly, it shewed that he was too well perswaded of Turcism and Socinianism, which runne exactly parallel in too many points. Fourthly, he seems to Anathematize the Socinians in the Preface to the Author of Charity, maintained Sect. 28. when *Knot* had reckoned up some Socinian Tenets, Mr *Chillingworth* answers, *Whosoever teaches or holds them, let him be Anathema.* I have not *Knots* Book by me now, I meane his direction to *N. N.* and Mr *Chillingworth* was so wise as not to reckon up the number of those impious doctrines, or name them in particular, because they were all fathered upon him, and he would not assist Mr *Knot* so farre in the spreading of his owne undeserved defamation, *ibid.* Sect. 28.

I am :

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I am afraid that *Knot* reckoned up too many points of Socinianism, or did not forme his Interrogations aright, and then Mr *Chillingworth* might safely anathematize, and yet be a *Socinian* in many points which were not reckoned up, or not well expressed; And yet his Anathema is warily pronounced, he doth not say, Whosoever teaches or holds them or any of them, let him be Anathema. Moreover, if the Socinians be asked, whether Christ be God, they will say, Yes; but then they meane that he is the Sonne of God, borne after an extraordinary manner by the overshadowing of the holy Ghost, *Luke 1. 31, 32, 35.* or that the word of God came unto him, and therefore is called God, because of his extraordinary Commission from God, or the like, *Iohn 10. 35.* Now either Mr *Chillingworth* was guilty of some such equivocation and fly evasion, or else he grew worse and worse, and would not anathematize a grosse Socinian. And if in these latter dayes Seducers grow worse and worse, I shall not wonder at it, *2 Tim.*

3. 13.

When Mr *Chillingworth* saw himselfe entangled in disputes, he desired me that I would deale charitably with him, for, saith he, I was ever a charitable man: my answer was somewhat tart, and therefore the more charitable, considering his condition, and the counsell of the Apostle, *Titus 1. 13. Rebuke them sharply*, or (as *Beza* hath it) *precisely, that they may be sound in the faith*; And I desire not to conceale my tartnesse, it was to this effect: Sir, it is confessed that you have beene very excessive in your charity; *you have lavished out so much charity upon Turks, Socinians, Papists, that I am afraid you have very little to spare for a truly reformed Protestant; sure I am, the zealous Protestants finde very little charity at Oxford.*

The last time I visited him, was on the Lords day, for I thought it a Sabbath-duty, and then he began to speak of some questions which I formerly propounded to him, whereof this was one; *whether Tyranny was Gods Ordinance?* I presently took him off from that discourse, because I knew he had beene laid up fast by that argument before; for it is impossible that

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that any man should ever prove, that Tyranny is not to be resisted upon this ground, because we must not resist Gods Ordinance, unlesse they could prove, that which is *blasphemy to mention, viz. That Tyranny is Gods Ordinance.* I desired him that he would now take off his thoughts from all matters of *Speculation*, and fix upon some practicall point which might make for his *Edification.*

He thanked me (as I hope) very heartily, and told me that in all points of Religion he was settled, and had fully expressed himselfe for the satisfaction of others in his Book, which was approved and licensed by very learned and judicious Divines. Upon further discourse I began to tell him what meditation did most comfort me in times of Extremity: and I added that the meditation was very proper for a man in his condition, if he could lay hold upon the *Covenant of Grace.* I made choise of that Scripture, *2 Sam. 23.* the five first verses; and I began to open the fifth verse a little to him: I told him that all our hopes of salvation are grounded upon the Covenant of Grace, for it is a sure Covenant, an ordered Covenant, nay, a Covenant in all things ordered and sure, an everlasting Covenant, a saving Covenant; they were *Dauids* last words, *this is all my salvation.* And I presse this point the rather, because he doth acknowledge in his Book, that the Doctrine about the Covenant is a Fundamentall Doctrine; and because his expressions are very imperfect and obscure in his subtile Book, I was in good hope that he would have explained himselfe more fully and clearly in that Fundamentall point; but I could not obtaine what I desired. Not long after, I told him, that I did use to pray for him in private, and asked him whether it was his desire that I should pray for him in publique: he answered, yes, with all his heart; and he said withall, that he hoped he should fare the better for my prayers.

I observed that Mr *Chillingworth* was much troubled with a sore throat, and oppressed with tough phlegme, which would certainly choak him up, if there were not some sudden remedy. I sent therefore to a Chirurgion, one of Mr *Chillingworths* believe, an able man, that pleased him well, and

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gave him some ease. And the next day being Munday, at our morning-exercise in the Cathedrall, I desired the soldiers and Citizens that they would in their prayers remember the distressed estate of Mr *Chillingworth* a sick Prisoner in the City, *a man very eminent for the strength of his parts, the excellency of his gifts, and the depth of his learning*: I told them that they were commanded to love their enemies, and therefore were bound to pray for them, especially when God moved the heart of an enemy to desire their prayers: We prayed heartily that God would be pleased to bestow *saving graces* as well as *excellent gifts* upon him, that so all his gifts might be improved and sanctified: we desired that God would give him new light, and new eyes, that he might see, acknowledge, and recant his errors, that he might deny his carnall reason, and submit to faith: that God would bless all means which were used for his recovery, &c.

I beleeve none of his friends or my enemies can deny that we made a respectfull and Christian mention of him in our prayers. The same day I rid to *Arundel* to move the Doctor to come over againe to visit Mr *Chillingworth*, but the Doctor was sent for out of Town (before I got thither) to visit Sir *William Springot*, and so I lost my journey, and the Doctor saw him no more. In my absence a religious Officer of *Chichester* garrison followed my suit to Mr *Chillingworth*, and entreated him to declare himselfe in point of Religion; but Mr *Chillingworth* appealed to his Book againe, and said he was settled, as you may see it more largely set down in Mr *Edmonds* his Testimony before. From my first visitation of Mr *Chillingworth* to the last, I did not finde him in a condition which might any way move mee (had I beene his deadly enemy) *either to flatter or envy him, but rather to pity and pray for him*, as you see I did. I dare appeale to his eminent and learned friends, whether there could bee more *mercy* shewn to his *body*, or *charity* to his *soule*, whilst he was alive? Consider what it is worth to have a fortnights space to repent in. O what would *Dives* have proffered for such a mercy? if Mr *Chillingworth* did

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not emprove it, that was no fault of mine ; And shall not my charity to his soule and body whilest he was alive, acquit me from being uncharitable towards him after his death ? No reasonable man will deeme mee guilty of such an uncharitable madnesse, as to be angry with a carcasse, or to goe wrestle with a ghost ; for I consider that his ghost might cry, *in faciem sepeli*, Bury me with my face downward, if you please, for when the *Macedonians* (give me leave to change the story a little, and say, when the *Irish*) come, and they were then neare us, they will *turn all upside down*: I am no *Sylla*, I did not give any command to scatter the reliques of *Marius* : though I have not much Wisedome, yet I have more charity then to deserve that lash of the Oratour, *He had beene more wise had he beene lesse violent* ; and yet I will confesse that I am, and ought to be violent for *Christ* and *Heaven*, and my passions are too often as hot as my zeale, but They may beare with small faults, and in this businesse I have proceeded with deliberation and moderation : I consider that I am in the body, and my body may be delivered (I know not how soone) into the enemies hand ; I doe not expect (though I might desire) that halfe that mercy which I shewed to Master *Chillingworth* may be shewen to me ; *Defunctorum cineribus violentiam inferre sacrilega presumptio est*, is a Rule (if I mistake not) in the Civill Law ; and I shall be able to justifie my carriage in the businesse of his Funerall to the face of his greatest Patrons, from all inhumanity or sacriledge,

*Marii reliquias
dissipari iussit,
acerbioris odio,
quàm si tam sa-
piens fuisset
quàm vehement
fuit. Cicero de
L.g.*

Sacrilega bustis abstinere manus.

Let us (if you please) take a view of all our proceedings, and of Master *Chillingworths* opinions, and then (I am afraid) some will say there was a little foolish pity shewed on my part, and the uncharitableness will be found in them onely, who censure me for want of charity.

First, there were all things which may any way appertaine to the civility of a funerall, though there was nothing which belongs to the *superstition* of a funerall: His body was decently

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laid in a convenient coffin, covered with a *mourning Herse-cloth*, more seemly (as I conceive) then the usuall covering, patched up out of the mouldy reliques of some moth-eaten copes: His friends were entertained (according to their owne desire) with Wine and Cakes; though that is, in my conceit, a *turning of the house of mourning into an house of banqueting*: All that offered themselves to carry his corps out of pure devotion, because they were *men of his perswasion*, had every one of them (according to the custome of the countrey) a branch of Rosemary, a mourning Ribband, and a paire of Gloves. But (as it doth become an impartiall Historian) I confesse there were three severall opinions concerning his buriall.

The first opinion was negative and peremptory, That hee ought not to be buried like a Christian, 1. Who refused to make a full and free confession of Christian Religion: 2. Nay, if there had been nothing else against him, but his taking up of Armes against his countrey, that they conceived a sufficient reason to deny the buriall of his corps. I will not trouble you with many reasons, that one place of Scripture was to them in stead of many reasons, to prove that an Heathen might be buried in all the outward pompe and glory that can be devised, rather then one who hath destroyed his owne land, and slaine his own people, *Isa. 14. 18, 19, 20. All the Kings of the Nations, even all of them lye in glory, every one in his owne house; But thou art cast out of thy grave, like an abominable branch, and as the raiment of those that are slaine, thrust thorow with a sword, that go downe to the stones of the pit, as a carcasse trodden under feet: Thou shalt not be joyned with them in buriall, because thou hast destroyed thy land, and slaine thy people, (marke that Reason:) the seed of evill doers shall never bee renowned.* In the third place, some were bold to say that he was *Felo de se*, guilty of his owne death, by his foole-hardinesse. Finally, it was alledged that he was an Heretick, no member of any of the Reformed Churches, and therefore to be reckoned as an Excommunicated person; now you know what law it is which denieth buriall to Heretikes, and Excommunicated persons, though they be excommunicated for inconformity onely, for not appearing,

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pearing, or not paying of 3.s.4.d. or some such like cause; Read *Pickerings Case* in the high Commission. The truth is, we looked upon Master *Chillingworth* as a kinde of Non-conformist, nay (to speake strictly) a Recusant rather then a Non-conformist; for Non-conformists refuse to subscribe to *Canons* which concerne *Discipline*, but Master *Chillingworth* refused to subscribe some *Articles of Religion*, as he himselfe acknowledges, though he thought charitably of them who did subscribe them: For (he saith) he doth not undertake the peculiar defence of the *Church of England*, but the *common cause of Protestants*; and yet he doth not hold the doctrine of all Protestants true, because they hold contradictions, yet he conceived them free from all error destructive of salvation: and though he did make scruple of *subscribing the truth of one or two Propositions*, yet he thought himselfe fit enough to maintaine, that *those who doe subscribe them are in a saveable condition*, See the Preface to the Author of *Charity* maintained Sect. 39. You see Master *Chillingworth* did refuse to subscribe. What thinke ye (Gentlemen) are not *Chichester* men pretty good Disputants? Can you confute these Reasons? If you can, doe your best; if you cannot, I have no reason to prompt you; scratch your heads, beat your desks, bite your nailes, and I will goe sleep, and will not heare what they said of Master *Chillingworths* Argument on *Fieldings* case.

The second opinion was your opinion, and the opinion of such as you are, my good friends at *Athens*; the men of a Cathedrall spirit thought it fit that Master *Chillingworth*, being a member of a Cathedrall, should be buried in the Cathedrall; and being *Cancellarius*, it was conceived that he should be buried *intra cancellos*; and not under the Altar, neare the pot of Incense, that the constant perfume of the Incense might excuse the thrift of his Executrix — *Ossa in odora dedit*. It was answered, that he was of or belonging to the Cathedrall at *Sarum*, and therefore they might carry him thither; but then his Will could not be performed, because he desired to be buried at *Chichester*, in case he did end his dayes in that City. But some more serious conceived, that this desire of burying

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rying him *intra cancellos* was but the issue of a superstitious conceit, that the Chancell, or *sanctum sanctorum*, was more holy then other places; and the carcasse of a Priest as sacred as that holy ground: And it was their opinion that a modest and well-grounded deniall of this request, would be the most effectuall confutation of that superstitious conceit. The ground of the deniall was Master *Chillingworths* phantasie, *viz.* That there are two wayes to make men faithfull, (and consequently to bring them to Heaven) without either necessity of Scripture or Church; his words are these; And Saint *Paul* tells us, that *γινώσκοντες Θεόν* might be knowne by his workes, and that they had the Law written in their hearts: *Either of these wayes might make some faithfull men, without either necessity of Scripture or Church*, Cap. 2. Sect. 124. pag. 100. the first Edition: Now shew me any place of Scripture (say they) to prove that such a mans corps should be buried in the Church, who main-taines that men may be saved without Church or Scripture. This passage is the more observable, because in some places of his booke he would beare us in hand, that he doth not thinke that Heathens shall be immediately saved without faith in Christ; See chap 3. Sect. 13. pag. 133. but you see he doth not mince the matter in the place fore-cited, for it is cleare and evident that there is *nothing of the Gospel written in the heart by nature, or in any of the workes of God by the first creation.*

The third opinion (which prevailed) was this, that it would be fittest to *permit the men of his owne perswasion, out of meere humanity, to bury their dead out of our sight*; and to bury him in the *cloysters*, amongst the old Shavelings, Monkes, and Priests, of whom he had so good an opinion all his life.

The Prelaticall men doe conceive, that there is a kinde of holinesse in a *cloyster*; no excommunicated person must be buried there, unlesse there be an absolution sent, either before the death of the party, or *to the dead corps*, (which they must call their beloved brother) *because they themselves are as lothsome and rotten as the corps*: Nay, a Papist must not be buried in the Cloysters without speciall dispensation from the Bishop; and you know *the Prelates would dispense with Papists alive or dead.*

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dead. It is usuall to bury men of good rank and quality in Collegiate Cloysters; and sure I am, the Cavaliers doe not bury their dead so honourably, though they esteeme them the *Queenes Martyrs*, they throw them into ditches or rivers.

Finally, Mr *Chillingworths* bones shall rest without any disturbance, he shall not be used as *Wicliffe* was by Papists, or as *Bucer* was served by the Prelaticall faction at *Cambridge*, who vouchsafed him an Honourable buriall in the dayes of *Edward* the sixth, anno 1551. because they knew it would be an acceptable service in the eyes of Saint *Edward*, as judicious *Hooker* styles him; but in the dayes of *Queen Mary* (the first of that name) the same men plucked him out of his grave againe after an inhumane and barbarous manner: but in *Queen Elizabeths* dayes, the same men wheeled about a third time, and made an honourable commemoration of him againe in Panegyricall Orations, and flattering verses. Mr *Chillingworth* was buried by day, and therefore we had no Torches or Candles at his grave: *Tertullian* assures me, that the Christians used no such custom, though the Heathens did, and the Antichristians now doe. *Non frangimus lucernis, lucem Dei.* I know no reason why Candles were used by Heathens at the Funerall of the dead, but because they did burne the dead bodies.

Consulas Histor. de vita & obitu Buceri.

Tertul. in Apolog. Synod. Eliber. Can. 34-37. Vigilantiuscum Synodo predict. illam gentilium consuetudinem damnavit: Prope (inquit Vigilantius) ritum gentilium videmus sub pretextu religionis introductum in Ecclesias Dei, Sole adhuc fulgente moles ceceorum accendit. Hieron. ad Vigilant. cap. 2. Virgil, Encid.

————— *subjectam more parentum* —————

Aversa tenuere facem —————

Observe that I say, at the Funerall, for I know full well that they had some Anniversary Commemorations, at which it was usuall to bring Candles, and burne them at Sepulchers in honour of the Dead. I remember a famous instance in *Suetonius* in the life of *Augustus*, there is mention made of a great company who flocked together at the Tomb-stone of one *Masgabas*, who had beene dead about a yeare, and they brought abundance of lights thither, as their custome was. But it is strongly objected that my great and unanswerable fault was, that I did in *extremo actu deficere*, I refused

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to bury him my selfe, and left it to others: Sirs, I confesse it, and shall deale freely and candidly in the businesse.

First, Mr Chillingworth in his life time, desired to have some part of the Common-prayer-book read over his Corps at the grave, in case it should please God to take him away into another world by that sicknesse. Now I could not yeeld to this request of his for many reasons which I need not specify; yet I shall say enough to give satisfaction to reasonable and modest men. I conceive it absurd and sinfull to use the same forme of words at the buriall of all manner of persons; namely, *to insinuate that they are all elected, that they doe all rest in Christ, that we have sure and certaine hope of their salvation,* &c. these and the like passages I durst not make use of upon that occasion; and all this, and a great deale more, was desired by Mr Chillingworth: blame me not if I did *choose rather to satisfie my owne conscience, then his desire*; for what learned Doctor Usher saith of more Ancient Formes of praise and prayer, is true of these passages; which kinde of Intercessions, &c. proved an occasion of confirming men in divers errours, especially when they began once to be applied not only to the good but to evill livers also, unto whom by the first institution they never were intended. Dr Usher his Answer to the Jesuites Challenge, pag. 192. Edit. London 1625.

*Videsis Greg.
Naz. Orat. in
laudem Gorgon.
Comment. in Iob
vulgo ascripta
Origeni lib. 3.
Ambros. de Va-
lent. & Gratia-
no differen.
Beati ambo si
quid mea orati-
ones valebunt:
nulla dies vos si-
lentio prateribit
nulla inhonoratos vos mea transibit oratio, nulla nox non donatos aliquā precum mearum consex-
tione transurret, &c. Ambros. de obitu Valentiniani Imperatoris.*

Secondly, I doe not know to what end and purpose wee should pray *over the dead*, unlesse we conceive it fitting to pray *for the dead*. I doe consider upon what slight occasions the people have heretofore runne into intolerable errours; and there is a kinde of naturall superstition ingrafted in the minde of ingenuous men in this great businesse: *men are apt to slide out of their civility and blinde devotion, into detestable superstition.* They who began to complement with the dead at first, did little dream that *their Complements* should be urged as *Arguments* to prove that we may *make prayers to the dead*: and yet they who have searched farthest into the originall of that

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rotten superstition, and grosse idolatry, doe as clearly demonstrate my observation to be solid and rationall, as if it were a truth written with a Sun-beame: Take Doctor *Fields* observation upon this Argument; *Notwithstanding* (saith he) *it is most certaine that many particular men extended the meaning of these Prayers further &c. — and so it is true* (saith Doctor *Field*) *that Calvin saith, That many of the Fathers were led into error in this matter of prayer for the dead, &c.* See his third Booke of the Church, and the 17 Chapter.

They conceived that the Saints continue their love to their brethren which they left behind them, that therefore they recommend to God those particular necessities of their brethren, which were made knowne to them here: nay, they did entreat Saints, lying on their death-beds, not to forget their friends on earth when they were translated to heaven. Adde to this, their reckoning up the names of Martyrs at the Eucharist; the Sacrifice of praise; the anniversary commemorations, and Panegyricall Orations; on the severall dayes of their friends death, and I need say no more: Read the same Author (Doctor *Field*) in the same Book, the 20 chapter, and you will be satisfied.

When I read of Funeralls in the old Testament, celebrated in the presence of Idolaters mingled with the faithfull servants of God, is there any probability that there were any Prayers made over the dead corps? would the Idolaters have joined with the faithfull in any spirituall exercise of Religion presented to the true God? The Heathens had strange conceits, that by Prayers and Sacrifices *Persephone* might be appeased, and so the deceased party fare much the better for the sacrifices, or the prayers; (shadowed by the Sacrifices) for with them the Devill was worshipped, and so (as they thought) appeased: Read Doctor *Reynolds* in the first Tome of his prelections on the Apocrypha, pag. 1498. *Itaque Persephone & sacrificiis & precibus placabatur ab Ulysse, Odyssea 11. Apollonius apud Philostratum lib. 4. cap. 5. qui negat sibi opus fuisse, obtulit tamen preces & orationes; atque ita, aut sacrificiis, aut orationibus, quas sacrificia adumbrabant, placabatur Sathanas, colebatur & adorabatur.*

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rabatur. Now if prayers were made over the dead by Heathenish Idolaters, and are still made by Romish Idolaters; and the Reformed Churches have no such custome; I humbly conceive that I shall not be condemned by any sober Christian, for not imitating Heathens or Papists.

Be pleased to observe the practise of Reformed Churches, and then you will not deeme me singular in my opinion. There was a Liturgy printed not long since, and presented to the Parliament, (let it not be thought the worse because it came from *Geneva*, or because it is said to be approved by Mr *Calvin*, and the Church of *Scotland*) and in that Liturgy you shall find that there was no great store of Service said or done at the interring of the dead corps: The corps is reverently brought to the Grave, without any further Ceremonies; which being buried, the Minister, *if he be present and required*, (observe those two limitations) goeth to the Church, *if it be not farre off*, (marke that likewise) and maketh some comfortable exhortation to the people, touching death and resurrection. You see that in their judgement the corps may be reverently interred without a Minister; yet if he be present, there are no prayers appointed to be said over the dead body; but the Minister is to reapeare to the Church, and preach to the Congregation, as I did upon the advantage of the like occasion.

The practise of the Church of *Scotland* is set forth by that reverend and learned Commissioner of *Scotland*, Master *Rutherford*, Professour of Divinity at Saint *Andrewes*, cap. 20. art. 9. p. 319. in these words: *Interring and buriall is not performed in the Word of God with preaching, reading Service over the dead, singing Scriptures (as Papists) which tend to superstition, &c.* — The place of buriall with us is not under the Altar, or the place of Assembling (*the Church*) for the Word or Sacraments, as Papists do, but in some publike place, either near the Church, or some inclosed field; because the Jewes buried sometimes in a Cave, *Gen. 25. 9.* sometimes in a Valley, *Dent. 34. 6.* sometimes in a garden, *Joh. 19. 41.* I hope you wil not say at *Oxford* that there's no Christian buriall to be had in *Scotland*, because they doe not interre the corps in the Church, or read Service over the dead.

But

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But however you'll say it must be acknowledged that singing of Hymnes, and *ευχαριστίας εὐχὴ* were used of old amongst funerall offices.

To which I answer, that the learned Doctor Usher proves out of the Author of the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchy, that such a Rite could not be observed in its pomp and glory unlessse there had been some Bishop present, at whose sacred hands the *dead body might receive as it were a sacred coronation.*

Dr Usher his answer to the les ites Challenge, upon the Argument of prayer for the dead.

2. The singing of Psalmes, and these thanksgiving prayers, are *not signes of mourning, but rejoicing*: and how it would have been interpreted at Oxford (you may judge) had we shewne the least signe of rejoicing at the fall of such a subtile enemy.

3. In those hymnes and Psalmes they did expresse their confidence, that the deceased party was crowned in glory; and of that I have said enough above, to shew that I had no such confidence.

εὐχὴ τῷ Θεῷ δεξαμένῳ καὶ εὐχαριστοῦντι ὅτι λοιπὸν

But if any of Master Chillingworths Catholike friends at Oxford should speake out, and tell me that there may (as Augustine saith) be *Petitions and Propitiations*, made for men that are *not very bad, after their death*; I will ingenuously confesse that *Augustines* judgment was very *unsettled in this point*, and diverse of his expressions are *inexcusable*: But to answer them according to their folly, if they conceive that Master Chillingworth was a Martyr for the Catholike cause, they will likewise acknowledge (as *Augustine* in sundry places doth) that *to frame Petitions for a Martyr after his death, is an injury to the Martyr, and to the cause for which he suffered.*

ἐπεφάνωσι. Chrysost. Hom. 4. in epist. ad Heb.

If any man doe yet remaine unsatisfied, let him consider, that had I conceived it fitting to read some Service over a dead corps, yet it could not be expected in reason and equity that I should performe this last office to the body of Master Chillingworth: For it is well knowne, that long before these unnatural and bloody warres, in the times of greatest compliance, I never gave Mr Chillingworth the right hand of fellowship, but did freely and constantly protest against those damnable heresies, which he did cunningly subintroduce & vent in this Kingdom, not onely whilest he was a *professed Papist*, but since his *pretended*

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ded conversion, (give me leave to call it so) you will see there is good ground for that diminishing term, when you come to read the Catechism anon. I am not ashamed to tell the whole University, the whole Kingdome, that I never looked upon Master Chillingworth as my brother, in a religious respect, for we were not men of the same Religion, or Communion: to speak plaine we were not members of the same Church, for (as he saith truely in his subtile booke) they who differ in Fundamentall points are not members of the same Church one with another, any more then Protestants are members of the same Church with Papists. Chap. 3. Sect. 9. pag. 131.

Finally, it was favour enough to permit Master Chillingworths disciples or followers, *the men of his perswasion*, to perform this last office to their friend and Master. Now there was free liberty granted to all the Malignants in the City to attend the Herse, and interre his corps. Sure I am, that if Mr Chillingworth had beene as Orthodoxe and zealous a Preacher as John the Baptist was, he might have had as honourable a buriall as John the Baptist had; for all the honour that John had, was to be buried by his owne Disciples, *Matth. 14. 12.* If the doctrine of this eminent Scholar was hereticall, and his Disciples were Malignants, I am not guilty of that difference. As devout Stephen was carried to his buriall by devout men, so is it just and equall that Malignants should carry Malignants to their grave. By Malignants I meane such kinde of men *who joyne with the enemy, or are willing upon any occasion offered to joyne with him, to promote the Antichristian Desigue now on foot; those, and onely those, I call Malignants.* When the Malignants brought his Herse to the buriall, I met them at the grave with Master Chillingworths booke in my hand; at the buriall of which booke I conceived it fit to make this little speech following.

A Speech made at the Funerall of Mr Chillingworths mortall Booke.

Brethren, it was the earnest desire of that eminent Scholar, whose body lyes here before you, that his corps might be interred

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terred according to the Rites and customs approved in the English Liturgy, and in most places of this Kingdom heretofore received: but his second request (in case that were denied him) was, that he might be buried in this City, after such a manner as might be obtained in these times of unhappy difference and bloody warres. His first request is denied for many reasons, of which you cannot be ignorant. It is too well knowne that he was once a professed Papist, and a grand seducer; he perverted divers persons of considerable ranke and quality; and I have good cause to beleieve that his returne to England, commonly called his Conversion, was but a false and pretended Conversion: And for my owne part, I am fully convinced that he did not live or dye a genuine Sonne of the Church of England; I retain the usuall phrase, that you may know what I meane; I meane, he was not of that Faith or Religion, which is established by Law in England. Hee hath left that phantasie, which he called his Religion, upon record in this subtile booke: He was not ashamed to print and publish this destructive tenet, That there is no necessity of Church or Scripture to make men faithfull men, in the 100 page of this unhappy booke, and therefore I refuse to bury him my selfe; yet let his friends and followers, who have attended his Herse to this Golgotha, know, that they are permitted, out of meere humanity, to bury their dead out of our sight. If they please to undertake the buriall of his corps, I shall undertake to bury his errors, which are published in this so much admired, yet unworthy booke; and happy would it be for this Kingdome, if this booke and all its fellows could be so buried, that they might never rise more, unlesse it were for a confutation; and happy would it have been for the Author, if he had repented of those errors, that they might never rise for his condemnation; Happy, thrice happy will he be, if his workes doe not follow him, if they doe never rise with him, nor against him.

Get thee gone then, thou cursed booke, which hast seduced so many precious soules; get thee gone, thou corrupt rotten booke, earth to earth, and dust to dust; get thee gone into the place of rottennesse, that thou maist rot with thy Author, and see corruption. So much for the buriall of his errors.

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Touching the buriall of his corps, I need say no more then this, It will be most proper for the men of his perswasion to commit the body of their deceased Friend, Brother, Master, to the dust, and it will be most proper for me to hearken to that counsell of my Saviour, Luk. 9.60. Let the dead bury their dead, but go thou and preach the Kingdom of God. And so I went from the grave to the Pulpit, and preached on that Text to the Congregation.

Some conceive that I studied on purpose, to picke out the most piercing Text in the Bible; a Text which doth much reflect upon the party deceased: but *these men erre, not knowing the Scriptures*; for had I used that Prayer at Master Chillingworths grave (which was dictated by the Spirit upon the like occasion, the fall of a great enemy of Israel, *Judges 5.31.*) doubtlesse that Prayer would have reflected more upon the party deceased, and all his surviving party: *So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord, but let them that love thee be as the Sunne when he goes forth in his strength.* They would have beene more displeased, had I taken that Text, which is applied to no lesse a man then the sonne of *Iosiah*, by the Prophet *Jeremiah*: *They shall not lament for him saying, Ah my brother, or, ah sister, — ah Lord, or ah his glory: He shall be buried with the buriall of an asse, drawne and cast forth beyond the gates of Ierusalem, Jerem. 22.18, 19.* Doubtlesse that man deserves the buriall of an Asse, who beleeves his owne Reason more then the God of truth; he that dares not condemne, nay, admires those for rationall men, who would reason Christ and the holy Ghost out of their Godhead, and even dispute them both out of the Trinity, doth certainly deserve the buriall of an Asse. *Man is born like a wild asses colt*, as silly, wild, and coltish as the Colt of a wilde Asse; and if he prove an old Colt, and perish by his Coltish trickes, wonder not at the sharpe censure of the holy Ghost. You see then there are sharper Texts then this that I pitched upon for the ground of my discourse.

Secondly, all that understand that Text, *Luke 9.60.* will acknowledge, that the Text did reflect rather upon the living, then the dead. But why then was he buried at all? I have
told

Sicknesse, Death, and Buriall.

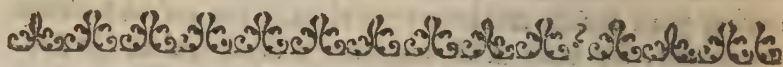
told you already, his followers were permitted to bury him out of *meere Humanity*. I pleaded for his buriall from that great example recorded at length by the holy Ghost, *2 Sam. 1.* from the eleventh verse to the end of the chapter. *Saul* you know was forsaken of God long before his death; *the spirit of the Lord*, (the excellent gifts and common graces of the Spirit in particular) *the spirit of government departed from him*: Moreover, *he consulted a witch*, and by her the *Devill at Endor*, and an evill spirit from the Lord took possession of him; yet *Saul* was solemnly buried, bewailed, nay extolled by *David* for those things which were lovely in him, as you may read in the place forecited, *17, 21, 24*, verses. And I dare boldly say, that I have beene more sorrowfull for *Mr Chillingworth*, and mercifull to him, then his friends at *Oxford*: his sicknesse and obstinacy cost me many a prayer, and many a teare. I did heartily bewaile the losse of such strong parts, and eminent gifts; the losse of so much learning and diligence. Never did I observe more acutenesse and eloquence so exactly tempered in the same person: *Diabolus ab illo ornari cupiebat*; for he had eloquence enough to set a faire varnish upon the foulest designe. He was master of his learning, he had all his arguments *in procinctu*, and all his notions *in numerato*. *Howle ye firre trees, for a Cedar is fallen*: lament ye *Sophisters*, for the Master of sentences (shall I say) or fallacies is vanished: wring your hands, and beat your breasts, yee *Antichristian Engineers*, for your Arch-engineer is dead, and all his Engines buried with him. Ye daughters of *Oxford* weep over *Chillingworth*, for he had a considerable and hopefull project how to clothe you and himselve in scarlet, *and other delights*. *I am distressed for thee, my brother Chillingworth*, (may his Executrix say) *very pleasant hast thou beene unto me, thy love to me was wonderfull, passing the love of father, husband, brother*. *O how are the mighty fallen, and the weapons*, nay engines of warre perished! *O tell it not in Gath*, that he who railed a battery against the Popes chaire, that he might place *Reason in the chaire in stead of Antichrist*, is dead and gone: *publish it not in the streets of Askelon*, that he who did at once batter

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batter *Rome*, and undermine *England*, the Reforming Church of *England*, that he might prevent a Reformation, is dead; lest if you publish it, you puzzle all the Conclave, and put them to consider, whether they should mourne or triumph.

If any man enquire, whether he hath a *Tombe-stone*, as well as an *Elegy*, let him know that we plundered an old Friar of his *Tombe-stone*, and there is roome enough for an *Epitaph* if they please to send one from *Oxford*; if not, give us leave to say, we have provided a *Sepulchre*, and it is your fault if you doe not provide a *Monument*: for as *Laurentius Valla* the master of Elegances observes, a Monument is nothing else but a speaking Sepulchre: *Vixque Monumentum dixerim, nisi litera aut alii tituli appareant, quæ si desint, magis sepulchrum quàm monumentum erit.* Laur. Vall. Elegant. lib. 4. cap. 75.

If there be any man yet unsatisfied, that this great Philosopher, Mathematician, Oratour (and any thing but what he pretended to be, a *Divine*) hath had no more honour at his death, then a *plaine Tombe-stone*, and such a song of lamentation as was taken up for *Saul*, let him read this following *Catechisme*; and if he be either Papist, or Protestant, he will be satisfied, if he be true to his owne principles.



A Prophane Catechisme, collected out of Mr Chillingworths Works.

Question.

How shall I be able to prove to an *Atheist*, that there is a God, and that the Books of the Old and New Testament are the word of God?

Ans. When Protestants affirme against Papists, that Scripture is a perfect rule of Faith; their meaning is not, that

out of Mr Chillingworths works.

that by Scripture all things Absolutely may be proved, which are to be believed; for it can never be proved by Scripture to a gain-sayer, that there is a God, or that the Book called Scripture is the word of God—— for (as he saith a little before) nothing is proved true by being said or written in a Book, but only by Tradition, which is a Thing credible of it selfe, chap. 1. p. 55. Sect. 8. the first Edition approved at Oxford.

Doubtlesse the Atheists and Papists will give him hearty thanks for this answer, which doth preferre Tradition (which the Atheist vilifies) before Scripture, which the Papists vilifie: he hath pleased them both. The Papists will be well pleased to see this doctrine licensed by the Protestants of the University of Oxford, that Tradition is more credible then Scripture, for Tradition is credible *for it selfe*; but the Scripture, when it is to be proved a perfect Rule *to us*, is credible *only by Tradition* in Mr Chillingworths conceit, pag. 96. and where shall we meet with this universall Tradition?

2. But I finde another answer, pag. 53. Tradition may be helped out by naturall Reason. Controversies, wherein the Scripture it selfe is the subject of the question, cannot be determined, saith Mr Chillingworth, but by Naturall Reason, the only principle, beside Scripture, which is common to Christians, cap. 2. sect. 3. And in his marginall observations on a passage of Mr Hookers he layes downe this as a Rule; Naturall Reason then built on principles common to all men, is the last Resolution, pag. 65. Nay, Reason is in some sort Gods word, see his answer to the Preface, pag. 21. How then (will the Atheist say) is Reason credible for it selfe, since (Mr Chillingworth saith) that Gods word is not credible for it selfe? Surely these answers will never bring a man to divine faith; for to rely upon Tradition, is but to rely upon Humane testimony; and such as the testimony is, such is the faith: if the testimony, which is the ground of faith, be humane, then the faith cannot be divine. Again, naturall Reason is not infallible, nor is it able to judge of truths which are above Reason: now it is cleare, that supernaturall truths are

A prophane Catechisme, collected

above naturall Reason. Finally, faith is not grounded upon Reason, but upon Authority.

He gives a third answer, chap. 1. pag. 36. God hath confirmed the doctrine of the Scripture by miracles; but then he saith, we have nothing to assure us of the truth of those miracles, but Tradition; and therefore we are not got one steppe nearer faith or Heaven by that shift: and if he flie back to Reason, then consider what he saith, pag. 117. God hath no where commanded men to beleieve all that Reason induceth them to beleieve.

Qu. But if this great point must be tried by Reason, what Reason can you produce, to prove the Scripture to be the word of God?

An. There is as good reason for it, as there is to beleieve other stories or matters of Tradition: He requires men to yeeld just such a kinde or degree of assent to the Gospel of Christ, as they yeeld to other stories or matters of Tradition, chap. 1. pag. 37. for God desires us only to beleieve the conclusion as much as the premises deserve, ib. sect. 8. p. 36. And the Chronicle of England, joyned with the generall tradition of our acquaintance, deserves as much credit in Mr Chillingworths conceit, as the Gospel of Christ; for his words are these, chap. 2. sect. 159. p. 116. 117. Wee have, I beleieve, as great reason to beleieve there was such a man as Henry the eighth King of England, as that Jesus Christ suffered under Pontius Pilate. The Lord rebuke that spirit of errour, which moved the great men of Oxford to license this blasphemy! What have I no more reason to beleieve the three persons in the holy Trinity, speaking in their glorious Gospel to my heart and conscience, then I have to beleieve Stomes Chronicle, or the generall tradition of my owne acquaintance, or some such other fallible testimony?

Qu. But what if I cannot be assured, that any part of the Scripture is the word of God, may I be saved without beleieving this weighty point?

An. Yes, saith Mr Chillingworth, chap. 2. sect. 159. if a man should beleieve Christian Religion wholly and entirely,
and

out of Mr Chillingworths Works.

and live according to it, such a man though he should not know, or not believe the Scripture to be a Rule of faith, no nor to be the word of God; my opinion is he may be saved. Excellent Divinity indeed! what, is not this a principle of Christianity, that Scripture is the word of God, and rule of faith? and if it be, how then is it possible for a man to believe the Christian Religion wholly and entirely, and yet not believe this principle? *Yes, I may believe the Scripture as I doe Augustins works, pag. 114.*

Qu. But if I am assured that some Scripture is the word of God, how shall I know what books are Canonically, and what not?

An. By universall Tradition. I must receive those books for Canonically, of whose Authority there was never any doubt or question in the Church, pag. 148. I may then, it seems, doubt of the Epistle of *James*, the second of *Peter*, the second and third Epistles of *John*, the Epistle to the *Hebrewes*, the Epistle of *Jude*, the book of the *Revelation*, the books of *Job*, *Esther*, *Ecclesiastes*, &c. He saith, he cannot in reason so undoubtedly believe those books to be Canonically, which have beene questioned, as those which were never questioned. At least I have no warrant to damne any man—that shall deny them now, having the example of Saints in Heaven, either to justify or excuse such—their deniall, chap. 2. sect. 38. pag. 67. Surely here is a pretty tempting excuse for, if not a justification of those Libertines who question these books, and may upon Mr Chillingworths principles question all the rest, if they acknowledge one of the *Gospels*, that containes as much as all the rest; Ergo that is sufficient, pag. 93. 101.

But if they believe no booke to be Canonically, and therefore will not assent to any book of Scripture, they doe not commit a sinne of derogation from Gods perfect and pure veracity; for he onely gives God the lye, who denies some book or point which he himselfe knowes or believes to be revealed by God, chap. 3. sect. 15, 16, 17. Now it is impossible that a man should know one thing to be true, and believe the contrary; or know it and

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not beleeve it, sect. 18. Whither these and the like principles (which frequently occur in his writings) tend, let the most sober and charitable men judge. The only Fundamentall Error in Mr *Chillingworths* judgement, is to deny something which the party himselfe knowes or beleeves to be revealed by God: and therefore in his judgement none but down-right Atheists erre fundamentally, cap. 2. p. 135. 136. Atheisme then, as the Jesuites and Arminians conceive, is the formality of an Heretick p. 100. for it is down-right Atheisme for any man to deny that to be true, which he acknowledges to be spoken by the God of truth.

Qu. But if I doe beleeve the Scripture to be Gods word, is it necessary to beleeve that controversies are to be decided by that Word?

An. No, saith Mr *Chillingworth*, **this is no Fundamentall point**; his words are full. I say that this *position* (Scripture alone is the rule whereby they which beleeve it to bee Gods word, are to judge all controversies in faith) *is no Fundamentall point*, chap. 2. pag. 115. His intent is by this assertion to make good a dreame of his, that some controversies in faith need not be judged or determined at all. Mr *Chillingworth* pretends, that he holds the Scripture to be a perfect rule of faith, and yet he saith it is not necessary to judge all controversies (and those no small ones, because they are controversies) in faith by that perfect rule. It is a perfect rule, but we need not be ruled by it in all points of faith.

Qu. But is there then any other way to decide controversies which hath any colour of probability from the Scripture?

An. Yes: nine or ten severall meanes of agreement offered themselves to Mr *Chillingworth* upon the sudden; (and haply more might have beene thought on if he had had time) and these that are offered, have as much probability from Scripture, as that which Papists obtrude upon us. And truly he was such a ready blasphemer, that he could vent *extemporary blasphemies*; yet such as the Licentious men at *Oxford* approved. chap. 3. pag. 130. 131.

First he saith, *we could, if we would, try it by lots*, whose Doctrine

out of Mr Chillingworths works.

Arine is true, and whose false; for which he cites *Prov. 16. 23.* It may be, this Sophister did cast lots for his Religion, and it was his hard lot to draw Popery first, then Arminianisme, and then his doctrine run lower and lower, till it came almost to the very dregs of Socinianisme.

Secondly, *we could referre it to the King, Prov 16. 10. and 21. 1.* Mr Chillingworth might make merry with his owne prophane doctrine, but I admire that he should dare to sport himselfe with the *Majesty of Scripture*, and the Majesty of the King: But truly I am afraid, that some are so indifferent in point of Religion, that they are content not only to referre it to the King, but to the *Queene*. It were proper for them to vent such Doctrine, who have, as the old Tradition and proverbe hath it, taken an oath to be of the *Kings Religion*.

Thirdly, *to an Assembly of Christians assembled in the name of Christ, Math. 18. 20.* Let them not then blame the Parliament for consulting an Assembly of learned and pious Christians, and most of them Ministers of the Gospel, assembled in the name of Christ.

Fourthly, *to any Priest, Malach. 2. 7.* This makes well of the *Queens side*.

Fifthly, *to any Preacher of the Gospel, Pastour, or Doctour, Math. 28. 20.* Sure Mr Chillingworth was more independent then they that are commonly so called.

Sixthly, *to any Bishop or Prelate* (why not then to the Bishop of Rome?) for it is written, Obey your Prelates, *Heb. 13. 17.* Mr Chillingworth since his pretended conversion was very apt to be seduced by the vulgar (or Rhemish) translation, or some version received at Saint Omers; but this was a voluntary and devised meanes, as he saith in the same page.

Seventhly, *to any particular Church of Christians, seeing it is a particular Church, which is called the house of God, a pillar and ground of truth, 1 Tim. 3. 15. and seeing of any particular Church it is written, He that heareth not the Church, let him be unto thee an Heathen, Matth. 18.* Mr Chillingworth is sometimes Prelaticall, and sometimes Congregationall.

Eighthly, *we might referre it to any man that prays for Gods*

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spirit; for it is written, every one that asketh, receives, (this is one steppe beyond the Brownists) *Matth. 7. 8. James 1. 5.*

Lastly, *we might referre it to the Jewes, for without all doubt of them it is written, My spirit that is in thee, &c. Isaiah 59. 21.* And why not to the Socinians? they have naturall reason, a very competent Judge in Mr *Chillingworths* conceit. What wonder is it that so many blasphemies and quibbles *for every quibble upon Scripture is a blasphemy*) should be licensed by grave and learned Professours of Divinity? what if Papists take liberty to blaspheme and put the Scripture upon the rack to force it to confesse what makes for their turn; must Protestants or such a one who undertakes the common Cause of Protestants (though he was no Protestant) bee permitted to blaspheme by the Licence of an University? Repent deare Doctors, once more repent; and I will proceed.

Qu. But how shall I know the true sense of Scripture, there being such variety of conceits which passe for Interpretations?

Answ. Here help mee Reason again and Implicit Faith. For, the last Resolution of my Faith in his conceit must be into Reason, page 65. 96. and still he labours to prove that Reason is Judge; and he frequently jeares at *Knot* for accounting it an absurdity for every man and woman *to rely upon their Reason* in the interpreting of Scripture p. 98. Reasons drawn out of the circumstances of the Text cannot convince me, unlesse I judge of them by my Reason; and for every man or woman to rely on that—in the interpreting of Scripture, you say is an horrible absurdity. And p. 99. Reason will shew this to be the meaning: yes, if we may use our Reason, *and rely upon it.* Protestants *use* their reason, but Socinians *rely* upon their reason. And he teaches implicit faith all along his book: Protestants, saith he, do agree with an *Implicit faith* in that sense of the whole Scripture which God intended, *whatsoever it was,* p 129. 130. cap. 5. sect. 3. a ready way to tempt men to beleieve very little concerning the sense of Scripture: for, men will be apt to say, that the sense of this and the other place of Scripture is not plainly and fully revealed, and Mr *Chillingworth* doth not require

require any thing to be beleev'd with an explicit faith which is not plainly and undoubtedly delivered in Scripture. My reason (saith he) is convincing and demonstrative, because nothing is necessary to be beleev'd, but what is plainly reveal'd, p. 92. But nothing in his judgement is plainly revealed about any point which is called in question, *if there be a seeming conflict* of Scripture with Scripture, Reason with Reason, Authority with Authority; in such a case he cannot well understand how it can be truly sayd, that God hath manifestly revealed the truth on either side, chap. 3. sect. 9. p. 136. 137. Well, but admit that the appearances on my side are answerable, and grant that Scripture, Reason, Authority, are all against me, because on the other side; yet consider the strange power of *Education* and *Prejudices* instilled by it, and what *Passions* I am subject to, and then my error is unavoidable, and therefore excusable; for though the truth is *in it selfe* revealed plainly enough, yet to *such a one* as I am, *prepossess'd* with contrary opinions, the truth in that point is not plainly revealed, read page 137. Sure the corruption of our Nature is as unavoidable as prejudices and passions, and therefore he must (according to his principles) conclude that *God who knowes whereof we are made, will not enter into judgement with us for those things which (all things considered) were unavoidable*; they are his own words page 137. Nay, besides *education, prejudices, and passions, inadvertence* may in the fourth place excuse us if we dis-beleeve a plain Revelation. Finally, in the fifth place, multitude of business, distractions, hinderances, will excuse us, and hinder God from imputing our errors to us as finnes. In his answer to the preface p. 19. I am verily perswaded that God will not impute errors to them as finnes, who use such a measure of industry in finding truth, as *humane prudence and ordinary discretion* (their abilities and opportunities, their distractions and hinderances, and all other things considered) (he will be sure to give liberty enough) shall advise them unto in a matter of such consequence. But certainly humane prudence and ordinary discretion will teach men to plead these excuses, which he hath fram'd for them, when any point of faith shall be pressed upon them;

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them ; they will say, our opportunities are few, our distractions and hinderances many, our education meane, our abilities weake, our prejudices strong, our passions violent, our inadvertence pardonable, and therefore we will content our selves with a *modest humble implicate faith* ; we beleve the whole Scripture to be true, in that sense which God intended, *whatsoever it was*, but we have not time to *search*, or *ability to judge what it was* : if we beleve nothing explicitly, or to disbeleve a clear revelation, that revelation, though cleare in it selfe, is not *cleare to us*, our error (the corruption of our nature, our prejudices, contrary opinions, with which we are already prepossessed, and all other things considered) is unavoidable, and therefore God will never impute it to us as a sinne. Whither these Principles tend, let the pretended Parliament at *Oxford* judge.

Qu. *But are we not bound to heare what the Church will say to us for our direction in weighty points?*

Ans. I must beleve the Church in every thing she probes, either by Scripture, Reason, or universall Tradition, be it Fundamentall, or bee it not Fundamentall, pag 149. These disjunctives seem to imply that something fundamentall may be proved by reason, or universall Tradition, which cannot be proved by Scripture. The Licencers may do well to declare what that Fundamentall point is, or how many there are, if there be more then one: I may go to Heathens, I need not go to the Church for any thing which Reason teaches, the Philosophers can sufficiently instruct me ; and if what the Church teaches be finally resolved into my owne reason, as he affirms p. 96. then I do not beleve either God or the Church, but my own reason: By you (saith Master Chillingworth to Knot) as well as by Protestants, all is *finally resolved into your owne reason*, Sect. 115. cap. 2. Sure I am then that such Protestants and Jesuites are in their *high-way to pure Socinianisme*, and therefore it is no marvell if some Jesuites have been such *Anti-Trinitarians* as Master Chillingworth pleads in his owne defence. Preface and Answer to the directions to N. N. Sect. 16, 17, 18, &c. the Church hath lost the interpretation of obscure places, pag. 56 and plaine places need no exposition at all.

Qu. *But*

out of Mr Chillingworth's Works.

Qu. But what if the Church erre?

Ans. Then a man may learne of that self same Church (which taught him) to confute the errors of that Church: that is, I may learne to confute the *erroneous conclusions* of that Church, by those very *rules* and principles which that Church teaches, Chap 3. sect. 40. p. 150. First then, a *private* man is presumed to have more *Logicke* then that *teaching* Church. Secondly, the Prelates (who call themselves the Church) may give my brethren of the Assembly leave to confute their erroneous conclusions, by some rules and principles which they themselves have delivered. Thirdly, a man may learne of the Church how to teach the Church. Principles which lead to these harsh truths, being licenced at *Oxford*, are an argument to me that they approved this booke before they read it.

Qu. But how shall we doe then to finde out the true Church, and the true Religion?

Ans. For commands to seek the Church I have not yet met with any; and I beleeve (saith he to *Knot*) you (if you were to shew them) would be your self to seek. Cap. 3. Sect. 41. p. 150. And for Religion, how little paines or care we are to take about it, hath been already shewed.

Q. But which must a man chuse first, his Religion, or his Church?

Ans. Every man is to iudge for himself with the iudgment of discretion, (which he calls humane prudence, and ordinary discretion, in the place of his Answer to the preface fore-cited, p. 19.) and to chuse either his religion first, & then his Church, as Master Chillingworth saith; or as *Knot*, his Church first, and then his Religion, pag. 57. Every man then is Judge, the Scripture (for fashions sake) he calls the rule, but he makes every mans naturall reason the rule, to judge whether such a Text be the Word of God, and then what is the sense of that Text; and so all is still finally resolved into our owne reason, into humane prudence, and ordinary discretion; for Tradition is a principle, not in Christianity, but in Reason; nor proper to Christians, but common to all men, p. 72. cap. 2. sect. 51. Come away then to the Schoole of *Socrates*, for this is just, *sit anima mea cum Philosophis*. Read from the 95 to the 100 page. I will
G advise

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advise with God and that Reason he hath given me, page 158.
he adored God and Reason.

Qu. But is it not possible for men to become faithfull without either Church or Scripture?

Ans. Yes, by the works of God without us, and the Law of God written in us by Nature.

Either of these wayes might make some faithfull men without either necessity of Scripture or Church, ch. 2. sect. 124. p. 100

Qu. What is Faith?

Ans. It is the Assent of our Understandings.

Qu. Are not the Essentiall Doctrines of Christianity to be embraced with our will?

Ans. The assent of our understandings is required to them, but no obedience from our wills, chap. 4. sect. 2. p. 193.

Qu. What are these Essentiall doctrines of Christianity?

Ans. I do not know.

Qu. Do you not know what ye are to beleeve? Or, cannot the church tell what these necessary Truths called the Essentiall and Fundamentall parts of Christianity are?

Ans. No, there's no such Church that Mr. Chillingworth was ever acquainted with. We are not to learn of the Church what is fundamentall. cap. 3. sect. 39.

Qu. What doth Mr Chillingworth think Fundamentall?

Ans. All points which are intrinsecall to the Covenant between God and man. page 193. cap. 4. sect. 3.

Qu. What are these points?

Ans. Repentance from dead works, and faith in Christ Jesus the sonne of God, (oh that he would have confessed him to be God) and Saviour of the world: this is all that is simply necessary, pag. 159.

Qu. What is it to beleeve in Christ?

Ans. It is to expect remission of sinnes, and salvation from him upon the performance of the conditions he requires, p. 134. Observe, more conditions beside faith required to Iustification 2. No mention made of Christs performance, but ours. 3. No mention of free grace: it runs like a Covenant of works.

Qu. What are these conditions?

Ans.

out of Mr Chillingworths works.

Answ. One is, that we beleeve what God hath revealed, when it is sufficiently declared to have beene revealed by him. You have had the English of that already, read pag. 134.

Qu. Is it simply necessary to salvation to beleeve in Christ?

Ans. It is simply necessary for them to whom faith in Christ is sufficiently propounded, as necessary to salvation, p. 134.

He will wrangle with you if you say faith in Christ is sufficiently propounded to Iewes, Turks, Heathens: for observe that he presently addes in the selfe same page, That may be sufficiently declared to one (all things considered) which (all things considered) to another is not sufficiently declared, and consequently that may be Fundamentall and necessary to one, which to another is not so. *In his conceit then it is not necessary for some mens salvation, that they should beleeve in Christ.* And it hath beene formerly observed, that some men (as he conceived) might be made faithfull men without necessity of Church or Scripture. Finally, in the 133 page he saith expresly, that *Cornelius* was but a meere Gentile, one that beleeved not in Christ, and knew not *but men might be worshipped*; and yet we are assured, that his prayers and almes, even whilst he was *in that estate*, were accepted. Ergo in his judgement a *meere Heathen* and an *Idolater* may have access to God in prayer, and be accepted without the mediation of our only Mediator the *Lord Iesus, God blessed for ever.* But the truth is, *Cornelius* was a Profelyte, instructed in the Iewish Religion, who beleeved in the Messiah, and that faith was sufficient for his acceptance, before the Gospel of Christ was preached unto him. The prayers and almes of idolatrous Heathens (who know not but they may worship men) cannot be accepted without faith in Christ: nor do their prayers and almes please God so well, as that for them or by them they should *be promoted to a higher degree of knowledge, the knowledge of Christ, that so they may be saved by Christ*: for what is this, but to deserve a Saviour, which is *meritum de congruo* at least? nay, let the *Licensers* consider, *whether to deserve Christ be not more then to deserve Heaven.* Moreover, he is much mistaken, when he saith, that they who never heard of Christ, may seek God as to please him,

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and that they shall be rewarded for their seeking of him with the knowledge of the Gospell, or faith in Christ; for he who doth not seek God in and by Christ our only Mediatour, doth not come to God, but runs quite beside him: to such a carnall seeking, God never yet promised such a spirituall reward. Consider that of the Apostle *Rom. 9. 30, 31, 32, 33.* and the next chapter, the second and third verses. That text *Hebr. 11. 6.* should be compared with, and expounded by *Iohn 14. 6.* and then it will be evident that no man can seek so as to finde him, or come to him after an acceptable manner, unlesse he seek God in, and come to him by Iesus Christ, who is the *way*, the *truth*, and the *life*, the true way to eternall life. I hasten to the next question.

Qu. What other Condition is there of the Covenant besides believing?

Answ. Repentance of sinne, and obedience to Christ; for God is a punisher of them that obstinately offend him; therefore repentance of sinne is necessary, and Iesus Christ is the sonne of God and Saviour of the world, by obedience to whom men must look to be saved, p. 101. Mark, he doth not say, by whose obedience men must be justified, and yet this is the fairest confession that I can meet with: I read often of our obedience to Christ, but I never read any thing yet in Mr Chillingworths book, of Christs obedience imputed to us; now it is the imputation of Christs obedience to us, and Gods free pardon of our disobedience, which make the covenant appeare to be a covenant of grace.

Qu. What is repentance?

Answ. An universall sorrow for all those sinnes which we know we have committed, and which we feare we may have committed. Answer to the Preface. p. 20. If we have beene betrayed into, or kept in error by any sin of our will, if that error be discovered, there must be a particular and explicite repentance of that error; if it be not discovered, then a generall and implicate repentance for all sinnes knowne and unknown doth suffice, lb. p. 21. Observe that he saith nothing of the hatred of sinne, or the forsaking of sinne, in which the life and power of repentance doth consist. A man may live and die in his sinnes and be saved by an universall sorrow. Men are damned,
faith

out of Mr Chillingworths works.

saith he, who die in wilfull errors *without repentance* ; but what if they die in their errors with repentance ? Answer to the Preface p. 20. That is a contradiction, saith the Iesuit, and he saith true ; but it appears by that speech, that Master Chillingworth conceived that an universall sorrow for sinne without any hatred of, or turning from sinne, was saving repentance.

Qu. What other condition is required in the Covenant between God and man in Christ?

Ans^r. *Sincere obedience*. Answer to the Preface, p. 18. This indeed is the prime condition he meanes, when he saith, p. 134. *That to beleeve in Christ, is to expect remission of sinnes from Christ upon the conditions he requires*. This is pure Socinianisme, to beleeve that we shall be pardoned upon our obedience, or as the Socinians expresse it, and justified (according to the Covenant) by *our owne obedience* ; not as we say, *by the obedience of Christ*, and freely pardoned for the al-sufficient satisfaction of Christ, made in our stead, and put upon our account. Besides, if a man neglect never so many duties, live in never so many errors, and commit never so many grosse sinnes, he conceives that an Implicite Faith and a generall Repentance of all sinnes knowne and unknowne, are sufficient Antidotes, and his Obedience shall passe for sincere Obedience ; as you may clearly see in those places which have beene already alleadged. If a man be not convinced that Christ is God, (by his principles) an Implicit Faith and generall Repentance will serve the turne, though that truth hath beene sufficiently propounded to him, and it is meerly his own fault that he is not convinced, for in his conceit as long as this man remains (as he saith) unconvinced. (but as we say, obstinate) so long he doth not derogate any thing from Gods veracity or truth. His words are these. But if the proposall be only so sufficient, not, that the party (to whom it is made) is convinced, but only that he *should*, & *but for his own fault would* have beene convinced of the divine verity of the doctrine proposed. The crime then is not so great, for the believe of Gods veracity may well consist with such an error. Yet a fault I confesse it is, and without Repentance, damnable, if all circumstances considered (that is, mens passions, hindrances, &c. confi-

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dered as above said) the proposall be sufficient, p. 18. of his answer to the Preface. Now what he meanes by repentance hath beene shewen, a generall sorrow for all sinnes knowne and unknowne; *such a repentance as will consist with a mans obstinate deniall of a truth, for he may die in this error with Master Chillingworths repentance, and neither the error nor the obstinacie shall be imputed to him, because he is sorry for he knowes not what,* and remained unconvinced of his error, though it was meerly his owne fault that he was not convinced. This is a ready way to save *Jewes, Turkes, Socinians, Papists, Infidels, and all;* for he doth meerly retaine the names of faith, repentance, sincere obedience, without the substance, life, and power of them. The Faith he talkes of, leaves the will at liberty: he starts at the Apostles phrase, *the obedience of faith.* You (saith he to Knot) say there is some merit in faith, we some obedience in it, which can hardly have place where there is no possibility of disobedience, as there is not, where the understanding doth all, and the will nothing, p. 329. Sure I am, the Devill hath such a faith, *an assent without obedience*; his faith is no faith, because grounded meerly upon probabilities; he only saith that the precepts of Christianity are most likely to come from God, p. 36. chap. 1. but the Spirit of God being implored by devout and humble prayer, and sincere obedience, may and will by degrees advance his servants to an higher certainty, p. 36. 37. But this certainty is a reward given to beleevers; so then men are beleevers before the Spirit gives them any certainty that the Christian religion did proceed from the fountaine of goodnesse: Now he who only beleeves the Christian religion of all other religions to be most likely to be true, is not very likely to implore the Spirit very earnestly either by prayer or obedience; for who will obey the precepts of Christianity till he be assured that they and the promises are divine? But saith Master Chillingworth, men may talke their pleasure of an absolute and most infallible certainty, but did they generally beleeve that obedience to Christ were the only way (marke that, the onely way) to present, and eternall felicity, but as firmly and undoubtedly as that there is such a City as Constantinople, nay but as much as Casars Commentaries,

out of Mr Chillingworths works.

Commentaries, or the History of Salust; I beleeve the lives of most men, both Papists and Protestants, would be better then they are, *chap. 6. pag. 327.* Sure Christs obedience for us is the way to happinesse, therefore our obedience is not the only way. 2. It is certaine that all true Protestants do beleeve the Gospel more firmly then (*Cæsars Commentaries or Salust*) prophane Histories. 3. Such a Faith as this will not implore the Spirit by devout and humble prayer, or by sincere obedience. 4. I appeale to all indifferent men what kind of obedience is like to spring from an implicate faith in unsanctified reason; a faith that is a bare assent without obedience, the faith of Devils, not the faith of Christians. 5. The repentance of obstinate men, (I meane in *sensu composito*, as Master Chillingworth means) a generall sorrow which he calls repentance (that is, humiliation without reformation) repentance of sinnes which I love and live in, and damnable errors which I die in, is not that repentance from dead works which Christ requires; sure Heresie in the language of the Apostle is a work of the flesh, and therefore as dead a work as any other; we may then safely conclude (*that an implicate faith in unsanctified reason or fallible tradition*, and a generall sorrow for I know not what sinnes and errors (though grosse enough for to be known) such sinnes and errors as the party doth love, live, and die in, and never so much as confesse to be sinnes or errors, because he is so obstinate that he will not be convinced of them) I say, safely conclude, that this faith and this sorrow are both unchristian, if not Antichristian. He that hath an implicate faith in his owne unsanctified reason makes himselfe a Pope. Sanctified reason sees but in part, and therefore unsanctified reason is spiritually blind, it cannot see any thing which is spiritually discerned. Besides, I feare that he conceived there was some merit of congruity in the lame obedience of this blind beleever, because he saith the sincere obedience of such a beleever doth implore the Spirit. Now whether a man that relies upon his owne reason, and his owne obedience, in stead of relying upon Gods authority and Christs obedience, can be saved by the Covenant of Grace, let all true Christians judge.

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Qu. What other condition is required of us?

Answ. A true, sincere and cordiall love of God. Answer to the Preface, p. 20.

Qu. How may a man be raised to this love?

Answ. By the consideration of Gods most infinite goodnesse to us, and our own almost infinite wickednesse against him, Gods Spirit cooperating with us, may raise us to a true, sincere and a cordiall love of God. in the same page.

Qu. Wherein doth this infinite goodnesse of God manifest it selfe?

Answ. 1. In creating us of nothing. 2. In creating us after his own image. 3. In creating all things for our use and benefit. 4. In streaming downe his favours on us every moment of our lives. 5. In designing us, if we serve him, to infinite and eternall happinesse. 6. In redeeming us with the precious blood of his beloved Sonne. 7. By his patience towards us in expecting our conversion. 8. In wooing, alluring, leading, and by all meanes (which his wisdom can suggest unto him, and mans nature is capable of) drawing them to repentance and salvation.

I have picked out the marrow of his notions the best Divinity his works afford, but observe. 1. We are (saith he) designed to eternall happinesse *if we serve God*; which is perfect Popery, shall I say, or Socinianisme? here is a conditionall decree, and the condition is works. 2. God expects our conversion, I thought he had effected our conversion; if God stay till we will turne off our selves *or cooperate with his Spirit in the first act of our conversion*; we shall never be converted. Sure I am, this Implicite faith grounded on unsanctified reason, and fallible tradition, will rather *resist*, then *cooperate* with the holy Spirit. The Scripture tels us that we do never love God in good earnest till we doe beleve Gods love to us: compare the 16. and 19. verses of the 1 *Iohn* 4. And faith is not *wrought in us by our cooperation with the Spirit*, but by the Almighty power of God who quickens us whom he finds dead in trespasses and finnes unto a lively faith; as is evident in the two first chapters of the Epistle to the *Ephesians*.

Qu. Is it possible for a man that lives and dies a Papist to be saved?

Answ.

out of Mr Chillingworths works.

Ans. Yes very possible in the iudgement of *Master Chillingworth*. 1, Because the Papists do not erre in Fundamentals *chap. 3. Sect. 56. pag. 164.* For the only and main reason (saith he) why we beleieve you not to erre in Fundamentals is your holding the Doctrine of Faith in Christ and Repentance. The worst sort of Papists who have means to find the Truth, but will not use them, may be saved if they die with a generall repentance for all their sinnes knowne and unknowne, because the Truths which they hold of Faith in Christ, and repentance are as it were an Antidote against their errors, and their negligence in seeking the truth. Especially, seeing by confession of both sides we agree in much more then is simply and indispensably necessary to salvation, *Chap. 3. Sect. 12. pag. 133.* And truly I doe beleieve if the worst of Papists, and the worst of Protestants did agree in fewer things then they doe, there would be more hope of the salvation of Papists.

Qu. *What is the best way to bring Papists and Protestants into one communion?*

Ans. The framing and proposing of a Liturgy which both sides hold lawfull. *p. 132.* This was perchance the great stragem aimed at in the framing of that Liturgy which was sent into Scotland; and this is a point which deserves the consideration of the pretended Parliament or Assembly at Oxford.

Qu. *Is the Spirit absolutely promised to the succession of Bishops?*

Ans. No: for many of them have beene notoriously and confessedly wicked men, men of the world: whereas this Spirit is the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because he seeth him not, neither knowes him, *p. 146, 147.* Whether this be not as true of some Popish Prelats in England, as of the Bishops of Rome, let the learned determine.

Qu. *What if a Church maintaine an error contrary to Gods Revelation knowne by that Church to be a divine Revelation?*

Ans. The Church that doth so is no longer a Church. *p. 137.*

Qu. *Doth not Master Chillingworth sometimes contradict him-*

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himselfe, and call the Roman Church the Catholique Church.

Ans. He seemes to do so, p. 132. His words are these: We beleve the Catholique Church cannot perishe, yet that she may, and did erre in points not Fundamentall; and that Protestants were obliged to forsake these errors of her Church, as they did, though not the Church for the errors, for that they did not, but continued still members of the Church. Observe that the question is about forsaking the Church of Rome, and he talkes of the Catholique Church. 1. The Catholique Church did not erre with the Roman; the Greek Church did forsake the errors of the Roman. 2. Those Protestants who did protest against the Church of Rome, were a considerable part of the Catholique Church. 3. Those Protestants did not continue members of the Roman Church, but did renounce her communion, because of her errors. 4. His distinction which followes betweene the Catholique and Roman Church makes his former observations non-sence at least. 5. He saith they separated from the Roman Church only in things which they conceived superstitious or impious ——— and (he saith) they were obliged to doe this under paine of damnation. Not (saith he) as if it were damnable to hold an error not damnable, p. 132. Did those Protestants rightly conceive the practices of Rome to be superstitious and impious, or did they not? if they did conceive aright, then superstition and impiety are in Master Chillingworths judgement not damnable; if they did conceive amisse, why doth Master Chillingworth justifie our separation from the Church of Rome? Sure Master Chillingworth was no fit man to maintaine the commou cause of Protestants against Papists.

Qu. May not a man bee damned by maintaining errors which are not in themselves damnable?

Ans. Yes, because it is damnable outwardly to profess and maintaine, and to yne with others in the practise of that which inwardly we do not hold: for this is (as he confesse) damnable dissimulation and hypocrisie, p. 132. Men may do well to take notice, that Mr Chillingworth doth account something damnable; and I note this the rather at this time, because
men

out of Mr Chillingworths Works.

men are so apt to professe one thing in one place, and another thing in another in these dayes of liberty, and to joyre with others in the practise of that which they inwardly dislike. Yet Mr *Chillingworth* saith, that if in him alone there should have met a confluence of all the errors which all the Protestants in the world have fell into out of humane frailty, he would not be so much afraid of them all, as to ask pardon for them, because to ask pardon for them, were to imply, that God is angry for them, Answ. to the Preface p. 19.

Qu. *May a man goe constantly to Masse, and be saved?*

Ans. Yes, if he bee devout at it (for that he meane by a godly Lay-man) if he bee strongly perswaded that there is no impiety or superstition in the use of the Latine service, Answ. to the Preface p. 9. sect. 7. It seems there is no fault in the Masse, but that it is in Latine.

Qu. *What profit might be gained by the Masse-book if it were in English?*

Ans. Much devotion, instruction, edification, salvation, in the place forecited. Was not this a stout Champion, chosen by Canterbury on purpose, not to confute, but harden Papists, and seduce Protestants.

Qu. *What are the causes of error?*

Ans. Negligence in seeking truth, unwillingnesse to find it, pride, obstinacy, a politique desire that that Religion should be true, which suites best with my ends, feare of mens ill opinion, or any other worldly feare or worldly hope, these seven betray men to, and keepe men in damnable errors, p. 158. It is one of the most honest passages in his book. Brethren let us beware of these motives.

Qu. *What kinde of man was Knot?*

Ans. One that went about to delude his King, and Countrey with strange captions; Sure Mr *Chillingworth* and hee were both of a make, read 117.

Qu. *How may a King usurp an Absolute Lordship and Tyranny over any people?*

Ans. He had not put himself to the trouble and difficulty of
H 2 abrogating

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abrogating Lawes, made to maintaine common liberty; for he may frustrate their intent, and compasse his own design as well, if he can get the power and authority to interpret them as he pleases, and to adde to them what he pleases, and to have his interpretations and additions stand for lawes; if he can rule his people by his Lawes, and his Lawes by his Lawyers, p. 51. cap. 2. I think our Iudges followed his directions in the point of Ship-money.

Qu. *What weapons of warfare may be justly called carnall?*

Ans. Gallacies, Treasons, Persecutions, and in a word all meanes either violent or fraudulent. p. 52. God grant that the Irish forces which land daily, doe not make us as well acquainted with this warfare in *England*, as they are in *Ireland*.

Qu. *What obedience doe we owe to the lawes and judgements of Courts?*

Ans. Onely externall obedience, not internall approbation. p. 97.

Qu. *If I disapprove the judgement of any Court, am I bound to conceale my owne judgement?*

Ans. No, I may lawfully professe my judgement, and represent my reasons to the King or Common-wealth in a Parliament, as Sir Thomas Moore did without committing any fault, p. 97. Why then are men so much blam'd for professing their judgement against some things which seeme to be established by Law, and representing their reasons to the Parliament? and why did not Master *Chillingworth* yeeld externall obedience to the Common-wealth of *England* in this Parliament? for who can deny that the Common-wealth of *England* is assembled in this Parliament?

Qu. *May not a Court which pretends not to be infallible, be certain enough that they judge aright?*

Ans. Yes, our Iudges are not infallible in their judgements, yet are they certaine enough that they iudge aright, and that they proceed according to the evidence that is given, when they condemne a thiefe or a murdurer to the Gallows. p. 140.

Now

out of Mr Chillingworths works.

Now Reader judge Master *Chillingworths* workes, my proceedings, and this Treatise according to the evidence given: and thinke an implicate faith in thine owne reason almost as bad as implicate faith in the Church or Pope of *Rome*.

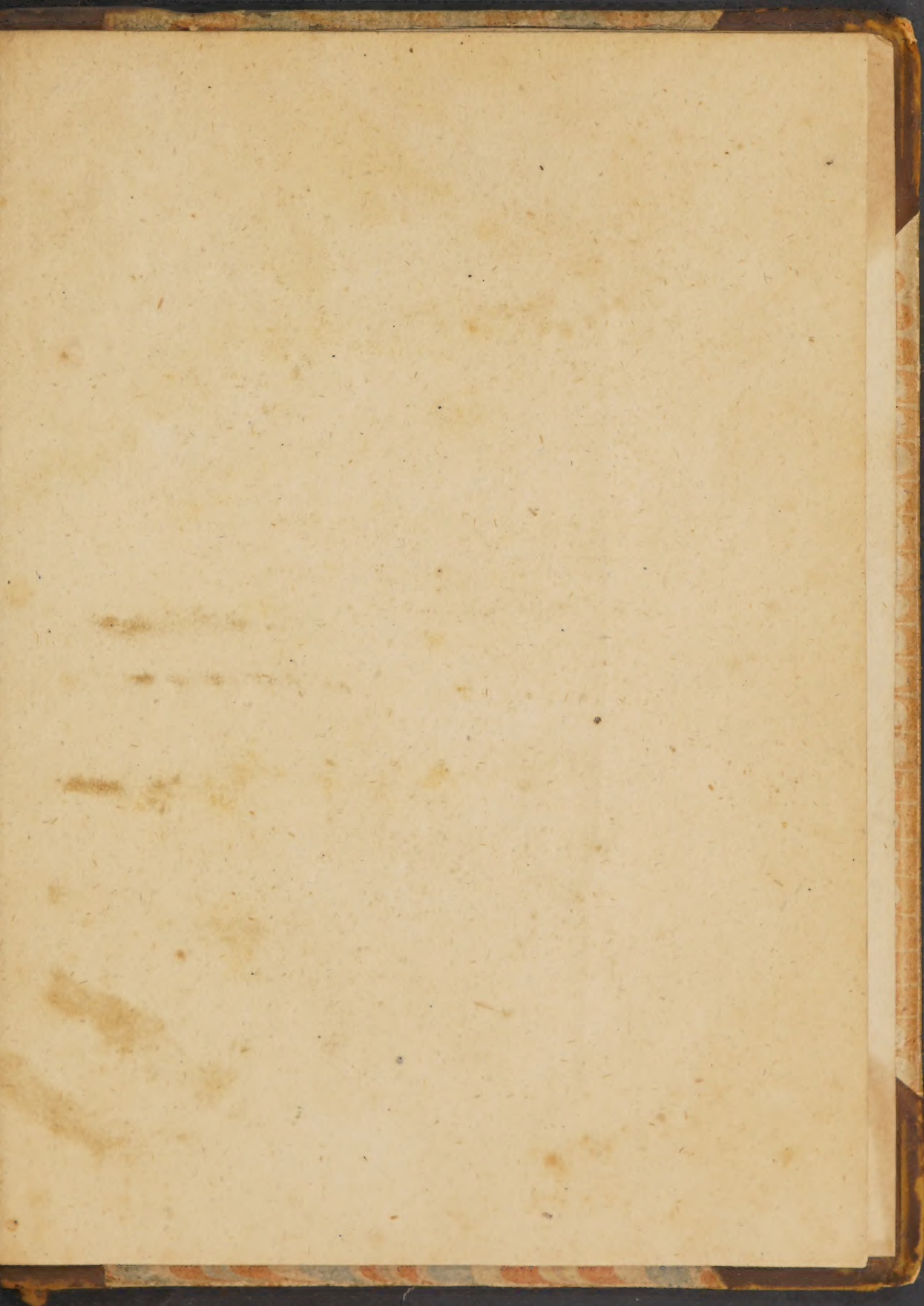
I conclude all as Doctor *Fern* concludes his last booke. The God of Power and Wisdome cast out all Counsels, and defeat all Designs that are against the restoring of our Peace, and the continuance of the true Reformed Religion. Amen.

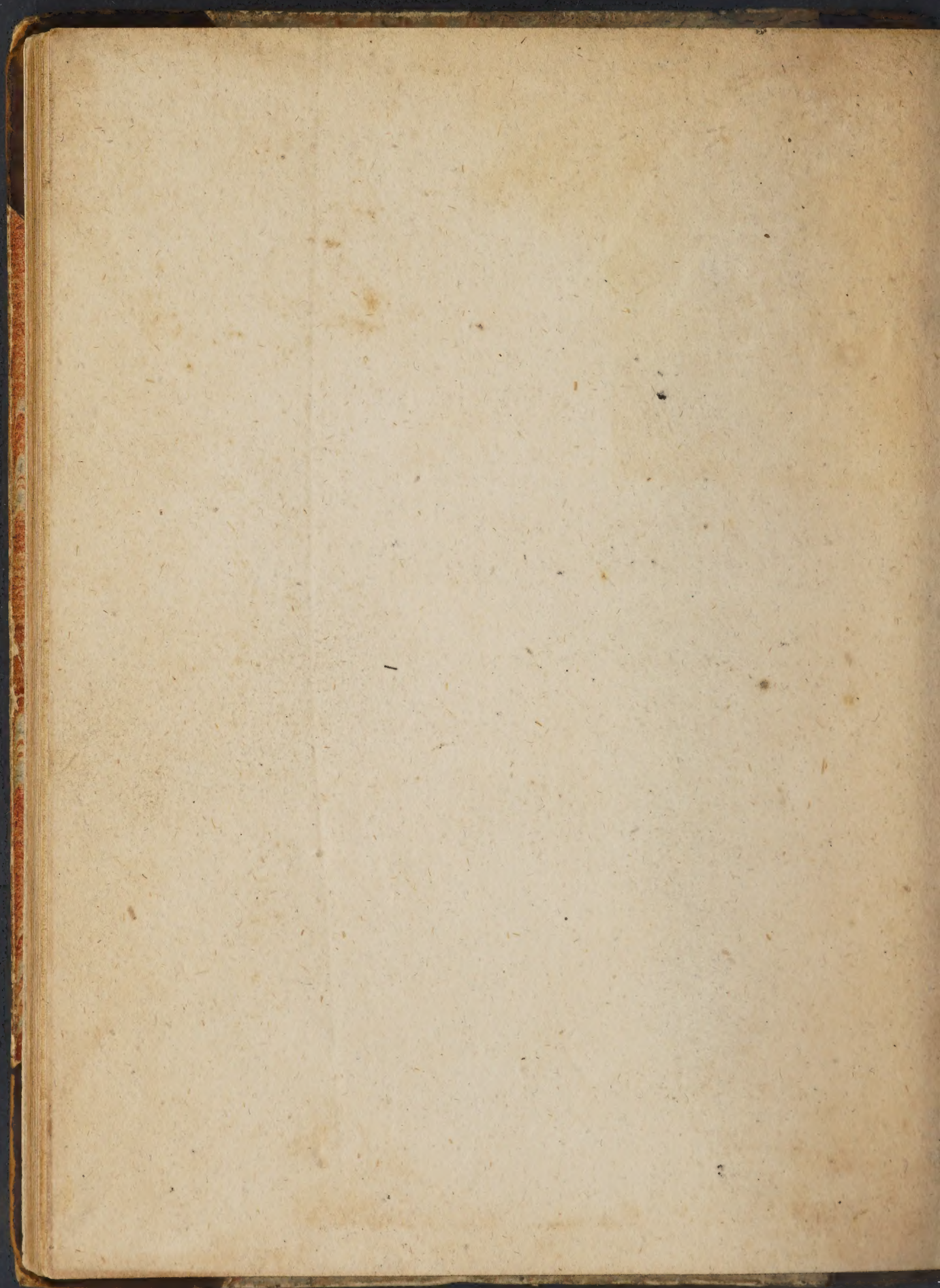
Soli Deo gloria.

FINIS.

1871
The following is a list of the
names of the persons who
were present at the
meeting of the
Board of Directors
of the
Company held on
the 1st day of
January 1871.
The names of the
persons who were
present at the
meeting of the
Board of Directors
of the
Company held on
the 1st day of
January 1871.
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meeting of the
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of the
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January 1871.

31. 21. 1871





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